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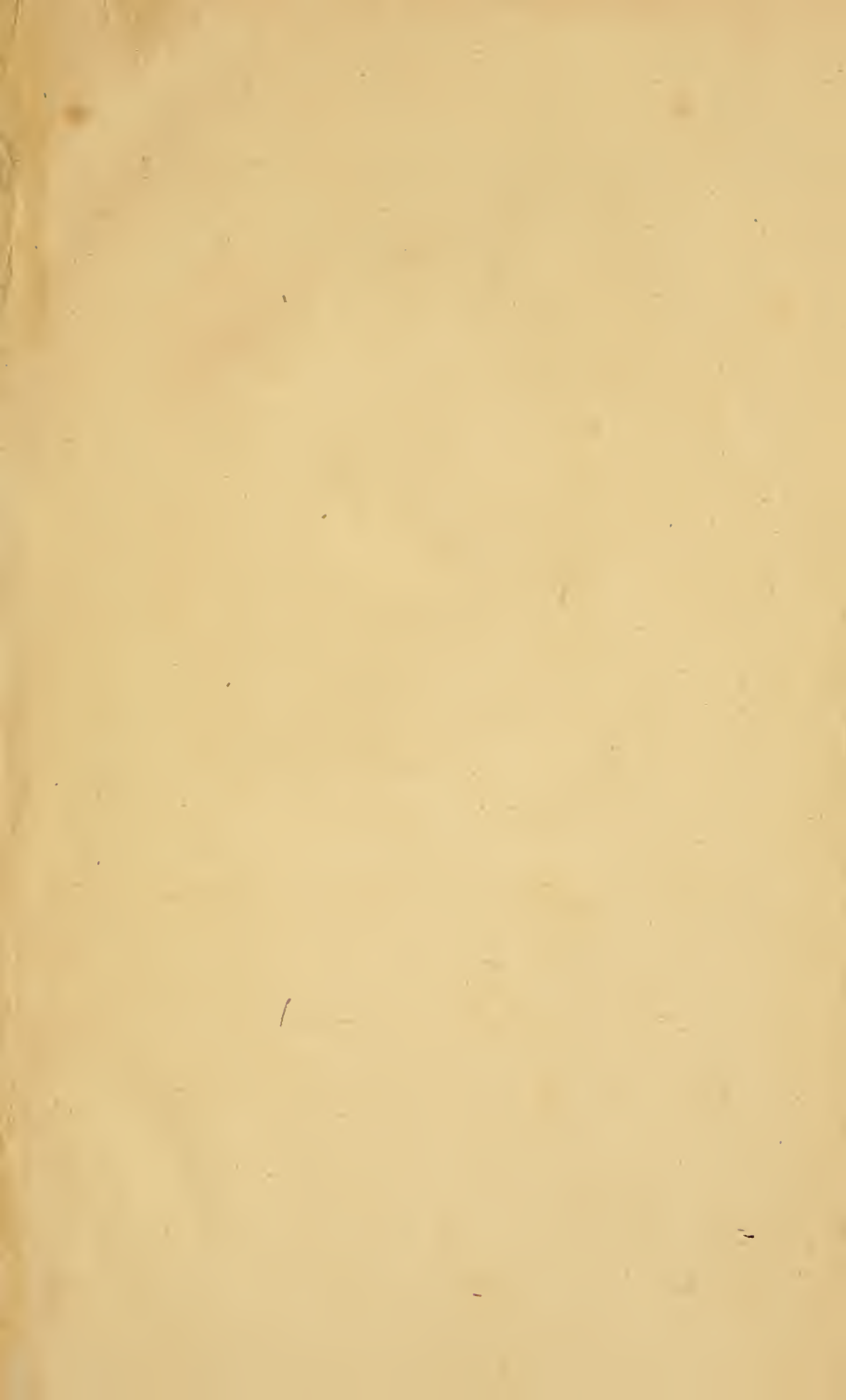
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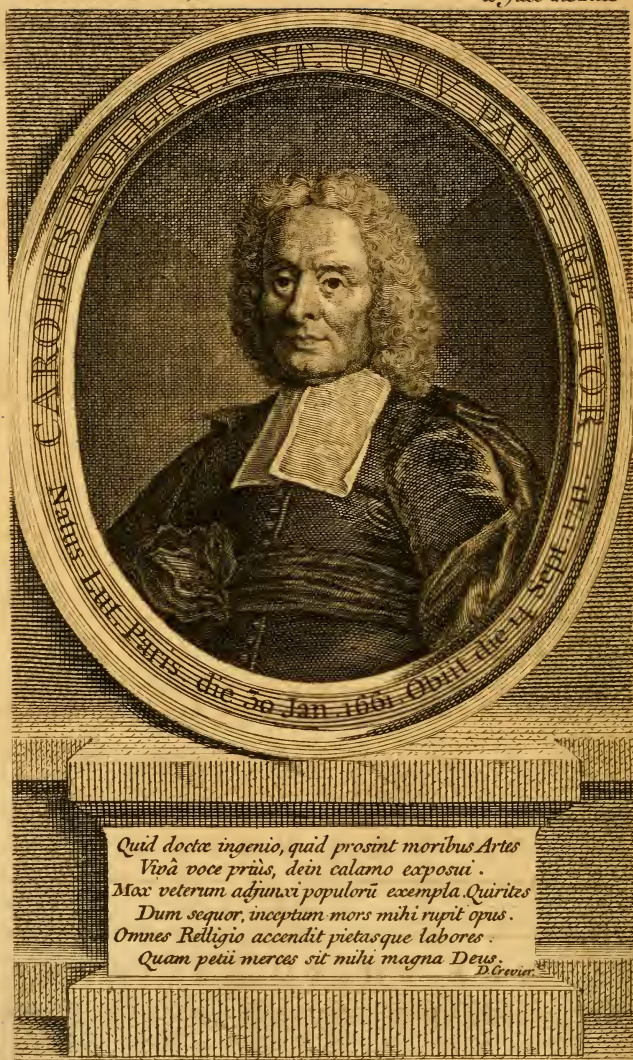


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THE
ROMAN HISTORY

FROM THE
FOUNDATION of ROME

TO THE
BATTLE of ACTIUM:

THAT IS,
To the END of the COMMONWEALTH.

By Mr. R O L L I N,

*Late Principal of the University of Paris, Professor of Eloquence in the
Royal College, and Fellow of the Royal Academy of Inscriptions and
Belles-Lettres.*

Translated from the FRENCH.

I N T E N V O L U M E S.

V O L. I.

THE THIRD EDITION.
ILLUSTRATED WITH MAPS AND COPPER-PLATES.

L O N D O N,

Printed for J. RIVINGTON, R. BALDWIN, HAWES CLARKE
and COLLINS, R. HORSFIELD, W. JOHNSTON, W. OWEN,
T. CASLON, S. CROWDER, B. LAW, Z. STUART, ROBINSON
and ROBERTS, and NEWBERY and CARNAN.

MDCCLXVIII.

ADAMS 190.1

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T H E

P R E F A C E.

WHEN a man attentively considers from what point the Roman power arose, and to what height it arrived, he is seized with astonishment, and dazzled as it were with the lustre and greatness of the events, and still more so with the causes which contributed to form that vast and superb empire. What was Rome in her beginnings but a confused mixture of shepherds, adventurers, men obscure and unknown for the most part, whom the ill situation of their affairs, or the love of novelty had united together within the narrow circuit of a poor and despicable city? And yet in her infancy, that is, under the government of Romulus, the first of her Kings, Rome began to command admiration and fear by the invincible courage of that prince, and his wise institutions, as well religious as civil and military. The rest of the Kings his successors, almost all of a different character, but admirably suited with one another to promote the same work by various methods, followed, all but the last, the plan chalked out by Romulus, and, each adding some essential part, greatly advanced

it to perfection. For it is observable, * that almost all the principles of the Roman policy were established under the Kings, and that these principles afterwards were only displayed with greater force and extent.

The progress of the Romans abroad in these beginnings was very slow. † They struggled near two hundred and fifty years round their mother Rome against the neighbouring nations, who, one after another attacking them, kept them continually in breath, and would have forced them to be expert in the art of war, though they had not been naturally that way inclined. They accomplished their subjection solely by patience and management, not so intent to conquer by force, as to gain by mildness; seeking ‡ friends, not slaves, attaching for ever by a submission, not forced, but voluntary; and making it a common rule to deprive the vanquished only of the power of doing hurt.

* Cùm à primo urbis ortu, regiis institutis, partim etiam legibus, auspicia, ceremoniæ, comitia, patrum consilium, equitum peditumque descriptio, tota res militaris divinitus esset constituta; tum progressio admirabilis incredibilisque cursus ad omnem excellentiam factus est dominatu regio rep. liberata. Tusc. Quæst. l. 4. n. 1.

† Prima ætas sub regibus fuit, propè ducentos quinquaginta per annos, quibus circum ipsam matrem suam cum finitimis luctatus est. FLOR. in Prol.

‡ Ad hoc populo Romano, à principio inopi, melius visum amicos, quàm servos quærere; tutiusque rati volentibus, quàm coactis, imperitare. SALL. in bello Jug.

Neque victis quidquam, præter injuriæ licentiam eripiebant. Id. in bello Catil.

The second age of Rome, of near the same duration as the first, that is, two hundred and fifty years, abounding with great virtues and great men, exhibits prodigies of courage, firmness, wisdom, disinterestedness, and above all, of the love of one's country. With such arms Rome learnt to contemn all the dangers, and surmount all the obstacles which stood in the way of her grandeur ; and after the reduction of all Italy, she saw herself in condition to extend her bounds, and carry her arms abroad.

What a scene of victories and conquests is opened in the third and last age of the Roman commonwealth, which holds but little more than two hundred years ? Here commence the Punic wars, so obstinately maintained, that each of the two jealous nations believes their safety entirely depends on the destruction of the other. Rome, ready to sink, is supported chiefly in her distress by the steadiness and wisdom of her Senate. In the end, the Roman patience prevails, and Carthage is subdued. Her downfall was as the signal of the defeat of the rest of the nations, who all in their turn came under the yoke, and submitted to the Lords of the Universe.

By a close view of the chain and connection of the enterprizes and conquests of Rome, it is easy to see they were the effects of a plan formed in the beginning, pursued all along with a wonderful steadiness, and conducted to its end

by methods which never swerved from the point : a work certainly beyond human wisdom as will hereafter appear. Rome under her Kings doubtless had not formed the design of conquering the world. But she was always animated by the same spirit ; always eager to conquer, to rule ; and always pursued the same principles to arrive at that end. It must however be confessed, that her hopes and designs were raised and enlarged but in proportion as her power increased.

This ought to be one of the principal objects of the study of the Roman history, because it is the soul of it, and because a view of the dates, facts, sieges, battles, and all the other events, if destitute of the knowledge of the secret springs which put all in motion, presents us, properly speaking, with only a skeleton, which has all the bones, nerves, and parts of the body, but is without life.

I shall endeavour in this preface briefly to describe the principal characters of the Romans, the rules of conduct on which their government was founded, and the means which most conduced to their greatness.

THE ROMANS, from the origin and birth of their city, established as a fundamental principle of their polity the fear of the Gods, and a veneration for religion. Hence those numerous temples, altars, sacrifices ; hence the Auguries, Auspices, and so many kinds of divinations ;

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tions ; hence those frequent vows made on pressing emergencies of the state, and so religiously performed : a certain proof (says * Seneca) of the existence of a Supreme Being, mindful of our wants. For what likelihood that all mortals, in all ages and in all countries, should have agreed in the folly of addressing continually to a deaf and impotent Deity, from whom no relief could be expected ? The Romans were mistaken in the object, but reasoned justly as to the thing. Convinced by good sense alone, or rather by the remains of natural religion, which cannot be entirely rooted out of the heart of man, that the Deity disposes every thing in the government of the world, and endows men, according to his good pleasure, with understanding, reason, prudence, fortitude, courage, and the other qualifications, on which depends the success of undertakings, it was fit they should implore the celestial power from whence flow all these blessings, and endeavour by religious consultations to discover the divine will, in order to merit its protection. Happy, if with such dispositions they had known the true God !

It is incredible what a strong impression in time was made upon their minds by this conviction of an omnipresent and omniscient Deity,

* Quod profectò non fieret, nec in hunc furorem omnes mortales consensissent, alloquendi furda numina & inefficaces deos : nisi nossent illorum beneficia nunc ultrò oblata, nunc orantibus data. SEN. de benef. l. 4. c. 4.

deeply graven on the tender minds of children, by education, by instruction, by the discourses of parents, and especially by the sight of the public ceremonies. The sacredness of oaths, which are made as in the presence of the Deity, was no where regarded as at Rome. The soldiers, however displeased or enraged, dared not quit their generals, because they were bound to them by an oath. In a long course of ages, no man ever gave the Censor a wrong estimate of his effects. Religion curbed the strongest passions, and rendered men more tractable and submissive to lawful authority. It was the bond of strict union between the citizens of the same city, between the subjects of the same state. In a word, it was the most powerful motive that could be used to inspire courage in battles and dangers.

Cicero gives his countrymen a glorious testimony on this head. * “ We may flatter ourselves (says he) as much as we please, yet we can never believe that we excel the Spaniards in number, the Gauls in bodily strength, the Carthaginians in policy and address, the Greeks in arts and sciences. But our excellency over all nations undeniably lies in piety, in

* Quàm volumus licet ipsi nos amemus : tamen nec numero Hispanos, nec robore Gallos, nec calliditate Pœnos, nec artibus Græcos,—sed pietate, ac religione, atque hac unâ sapientiâ, quoddè deorum immortalium numine omnia regi gubernarique perspeximus, omnes gentes nationesque superavimus. De HARUSP. resp. n. 19.

“ religion, in an inward persuasion that there
 “ are Gods who rule and govern the uni-
 “ verse.”

Next to the Gods, the Romans paid the greatest regard to their country. Love for the place of their birth is natural to all men : but this sentiment seems to have been more strong and lively in the Romans than in any other nation. They were always ready to encounter all hazards and sufferings for its sake, and thought themselves obliged to sacrifice all to it, their fortunes, lives, peace, glory itself, friends, parents, children. * Neither are we to wonder at it, or judge of the dispositions of the Roman people by those of other nations. At Rome every particular person had a share in the government, and a personal interest in the prosperity of the state, on which depended his safety and welfare. The public successes were his work, as he had contributed to them some way : by his wisdom in council ; by his courage in the field ; by the election of the generals and magistrates in the assemblies. Now it is natural to love one's own work, to applaud one's self with secret satisfaction on the success of one's own undertakings, and to have a lively concern for the preservation of what belongs to us, and

* Pro qua (patria) mori, & cui nos totos dedere, & in qua nostra omnia ponere & quasi consecrare debemus. De Leg. 2. n. 5.

Cari sunt parentes, cari liberi, propinqui, familiares : sed omnes omnium caritates patria una complexa est. Offic. 1. n. 57.

what we possess. The Romans found all this in the safety of their country ; and to preserve these advantages sacrificed their all.

No ill treatment could stifle in their heart this love, imprinted by nature from their birth, and strongly rivetted by education. It was inculcated on them from their very infancy, that a son ought never to cancel his duty to his mother, though she should be forgetful of the sentiments of nature ; nor a citizen be unmindful of his country, though to him ever so ungrateful and unjust. Of what did such a principle not render them capable !

This disposition was kept up and cemented by the particular union of the citizens, to which the first Kings from the beginning applied their whole care and attention, convinced that on it depended the safety of the state. The distribution of the artizans into different bodies united them all together; each according to their profession ; the mutual duties of the patrons and clients, that is, of the great and the small, tended to the same end, and promoted the union of the citizens, notwithstanding the difference of employs, and the inequality of conditions.

Another and much stronger bond than the first, and which drew the knot still closer, was the LOVE OF LIBERTY. The Romans loved their country as professed enemy of all servitude and slavery. Their notion of Liberty was, a
state

state wherein a man is subject only to the law, and the law is more powerful than men.

This republican taste seemed born with Rome itself, to which the regal prerogative was not repugnant, being tempered by the power of the Senate and People, who shared with the Kings the authority of the government. It is true, however, that all this while there was only a faint essay of liberty. The tyrannical proceedings of Tarquin the Proud roused their love of it, and they became excessively jealous, when they had enjoyed it in perfection under the Consuls.

The love of liberty must from that time have been very strong and violent, to stifle in a father all the sentiments of nature, and put a dagger in his hand against his own children. But Brutus thought it his duty to seal with their blood the deliverance of his country, and inspire the Romans for ever by that bloody execution with an invincible horror for slavery and tyranny.

And such indeed was the effect produced by that example. The slightest suspicion of an attempt upon liberty, instantly effaced all the great qualities of a citizen, and all his past services for the state. Marcius, in the midst of all his glory acquired at the siege of Corioli, was banished for that reason alone. Sp. Melius, notwithstanding his largesses to the People, and for those very largesses, was punished with death. Manlius Capitolinus was thrown headlong from
that

that Capitol which he had so bravely defended, and saved from the hands of the Gauls, because he was believed to affect royalty. The essence of a Roman was, as I may say, the love of liberty, and the love of his country.

Add to these two characters the desire of glory and thirst of dominion, and you have a Roman compleat.

Glory was the main-spring of those noble actions that have made the Romans so illustrious. I pretend not here to justify them in this respect: I shall hereafter show what we ought to think of it. I shall only say, that by this motive of glory, the republic, after liberty prevailed, made an incredible progress in a short time.* The frequent examples of patriotism and of devotion to the public good, of which Rome was witness in those critical times, and which she rewarded in so eminent a manner, kindled, not only in the Patricians, but in the Plebeians themselves, that noble fire of emulation and glory, which dares all things, and influenced all along the whole nation. Greedy of praise, they reckoned money as nothing, and valued it only to disperse it. They were content with moderate fortunes, but desired glory without measure.†

* *Civitas, incredibile memoratu est, adepta libertate, quantum brevi creverit: tanta cupido gloriæ inceserat! SALLUST.*

† *Laudis avidi, pecuniæ liberalis erant: gloriam ingentem, divitias honestas volebant. SALLUST. in bello Catil.*

The thirst of glory usually produces that of dominion. It appears noble to be master, to command others, to impose laws, to be feared and obeyed. This passion, natural to mankind, was more strong and active in the Romans than in any other People. † One would think, at seeing the air of authority they very early assume, that they already believed themselves destined to become one day lords of the Universe. They gently treated the vanquished, but not without requiring constantly an express submission. One victory led to another. Pushing their conquests one after another, they incessantly went on, and knew not what it was to stop. Whoever submitted not to them was an enemy, especially crowned heads. ‡ The reason of their making war upon all nations and Kings, was their immoderate passion to rule. || But this ambition was covered with the veil of equity, moderation, wisdom, which hindered it from appearing in its own odious colours. If the Romans were unjust in their conquests, they governed the vanquished nations with lenity, who were never more happy than under their do-

† *Ea libido dominandi, inter alia vitia generis humani, meracior inerat populo Rom. S. AUG. de Civ. Dei. l. i. c. 30.*

‡ *Omnia non serva, & maximè regna, hostilia ducant. SALLUST. in fragm. It is Mithridates who speaks in this passage, and in the following.*

|| *Namque Romanis, cum nationibus, populis, regibus cunctis, una & ea vetus causa bellandi est, cupido profunda imperii. SALLUST. ibid.*

minion. Neither Greece, nor Asia Minor, nor Syria, nor Egypt, nor most of the other provinces, were free from war but under the empire of the Romans.

The qualities hitherto spoken of, so proper to make conquerors, were assisted and supported by the constitution itself, and by the political principles on which the Roman government turned.

Two bodies divided at Rome the authority, namely, the Senate and People. We shall see them continually at variance through the whole course of the history. A mutual jealousy, founded on the one side upon a desire of governing in the Commonwealth, on the other upon that of keeping themselves free and independent, will raise between them contentions and quarrels, which end but with the republic itself. This generous people, who looked on themselves as born to command all their neighbours, could not bear to be reduced to a kind of slavery by their fellow-citizens. Hence the continual oppositions to the attempts of the Great to make themselves masters: hence the many struggles to put themselves upon a level with the Nobles, and divide with them the honours and offices.

Such continual and early dissensions, it seems, should have, if not entirely ruined, at least much weakened the state. Yet the contrary happened, for they only helped to preserve
and

and confirm liberty. Had the authority been entirely in the Senate, it might have quickly degenerated into tyranny and despotic power. But the People, by an obstinate opposition, obtaining a share, it remained in a sort of equilibrium, which proved the safety of the Commonwealth.

It must be confessed, these dissensions, though attended with many inconveniences, procured a considerable advantage to the state, in forming many persons of great merit, and perpetuating a succession of the same. The Patricians, who were obstinately bent to keep to themselves alone the commands, the honours, the magistracies, as they could not obtain them but by the suffrages of the Plebeians, were obliged to use their utmost endeavours to prove themselves worthy by superior qualities, by real and repeated services, by illustrious actions, of which their adversaries themselves were witnesses, and to which they could not refuse their esteem and applause. This necessity of depending on the judgment of the People for admission to posts, obliged the young Patricians to acquire all the merit capable of gaining the suffrages of judges who examined them rigorously, and were not inclined to have a remiss indulgence for the candidates, as well out of love to the honour and welfare of the state, as out of an hereditary jealousy of the Patrician order.

The Plebeians on their side, in aspiring to the highest dignities of the state, were forced to prepare themselves so as to convince their brethren they had all the qualities necessary to fill them with honour. Proofs were to be given of a distinguished valour, of a wise and prudent conduct, of a great capacity to discharge the functions of the offices which led by degrees to the highest. It was needful to have not only the military virtues and ability to conduct an army; but the talent of voting in the Senate, of haranguing the Senate and People, of reporting the great affairs of state, of answering foreign ambassadors, and entering with them into the nicest and most important negotiations. By all these obligations, imposed on the Plebeians by ambition for obtaining of dignities, they were under a necessity of making proof of an accomplished merit, and at least equal to that of the Patricians.

These were some of the advantages arising from the sharp contests between the Senate and People, from whence resulted a lively emulation between the two Orders; and a happy necessity of displaying talents, which perhaps by a continual concord and peace, would have lain dormant and fruitless; just as, if I may use the comparison, from a steel struck with a flint, sparks of fire fly out, which without that violence would remain for ever concealed.

This is not all. Antonius the famous orator, De Orat.
l. 2. n. 199. in a celebrated speech at the bar, of which Cicero gives us the plan, and wherein he defended a citizen accused of being concerned in a sedition, demonstrates * in general, that these dissensions and quarrels between the Senate and People, though always in themselves very troublesome, were sometimes just and almost necessary for the public good. That without these divisions the Kings could not have been expelled, nor the Tribunes of the People created, nor the Consular power restrained, nor the Appeal established, which was the strong support of liberty and the safety of the state.

I enlarge a little on these commotions and troubles, which will fill so great a part of the history of the beginnings of the republic, (and I fear the reader will think me tedious) because it is of importance to search into their causes, effects, and consequences.

To this may be added, that these dissensions themselves contributed more than any thing else to discover the wisdom both of the Senate and People. They touched the two orders in the

* Conclufi ita ut dicerem, etfi omnes moleftæ femper feditiones, fuiffent, juftas tamen fuiffe nonnullas, & prope neceffarias. Neque Reges ex hac civitate exigi, neque Tribunos plebis creari neque plebifcitis toties confularem poteftatem minui, neque provocationem, patronam illam civitatis ac vindicem libertatis, populo Rom. dari fine nobilium diffenfione potuiffe.

most sensible parts, and were pushed with all possible vigour and violence. Nevertheless, for near four centuries, that is, to the time of the Gracchi, they cost the Commonwealth not one drop of blood. The Senate wisely prevented the excesses to which the People might have been carried, by a timely relaxation, and prudent grant of all or part of their demands: and the People, vying in generosity, were contented with the good intentions of the Senate, without putting them in practice. The contest about the Consulship, to which the People put in their claim, was one of the warmest and most violent. The Senate at last took a medium. They consented, that instead of Consuls, military Tribunes should be appointed, who might be chosen without distinction out of the Patricians or Plebeians. The People, so zealous in defence of their liberty and honour, showed themselves so moderate after the heat of the debates was over, that they named three military Tribunes, all Patricians. “Where shall we now find” (says Livy full of just * admiration) “in a single person the moderation, equity, greatness of soul, which appeared then in a whole People!”

Whence think ye proceeded so rare and admirable a moderation? From the sincere re-

* Hanc modestiam, æquitatemque, & altitudinem animi ubi nunc in uno inveneris, quæ tunc populi universi fuit? Liv. l. 4. c. 6.

spect the two orders had for each other, and from their really deserving it by a character and merit uncommon. This reciprocal respect flowed from an inward conviction that they were mutually necessary to the state, and that the extinction of one of the two orders would infallibly prove the destruction of all. What would the Senate have done, and what would they have been without the People, especially surrounded with neighbouring nations, all jealous of their growth? and what too would the People have done without the Senate, which contained within its bosom all the generals, all the magistrates, all the pontiffs, all the principal pillars of the state? These considerations stopped on both sides the contests when a rupture was at hand.

The course of the history will afford numberless instances of moderation and wisdom, which ought to give us a great idea of the Roman people, and do perfectly discover the essence of their character. We are not to judge of them * by certain sallies of violence and fury, to which they were carried by the seditious harangues of their Tribunes, who put them out of their natural temper: as the sea, calm in its own nature, grows boisterous by storms. It hap-

* Multitudo omnis, sicut natura maris, per se immobilis est: venti & auræ cient. Ita aut tranquillum aut procellæ in vobis sunt, & causa atque origo omnis furoris penes auctores est. Liv. l. 28. c. 27.

pened, † that on one side prudent and generous Consuls often obstructed the rash attempts of passionate and violent Tribunes, and on the other, well disposed Tribunes sometimes withstood the unjust power usurped by ambitious Consuls. This kind of civil war proceeded not, on either side, from a natural hatred and aversion, but on many occasions, from the ill disposition of those in place. In difficult junctures, in tempestuous seasons, when the People coolly and calmly deliberated, solely mindful of the public good, they followed without reserve the Senate's advice, and however jealous of their authority, resigned to them entirely the management of affairs.

They had great reason for so doing. Was there ever in a nation a Senate like that of Rome, (I speak of the good times of the republic) wherein affairs were treated more maturely, or with greater foresight, or with more zeal for the public good? The Holy Ghost has not disdained, as Mr. Bossuet observes in his Universal History, to praise in the Book of Maccabees, the consummate prudence and vigorous counsels of that wise assembly, where no man as-

1 Macc.
viii. 15,
16.

† Non enim natura, neque dissidio, neque odio penitus insito, bellum nescio quod habet susceptum consulatus cum tribunatu, quia persæpe seditiosis atque improbis tribunis plebis boni & fortes consules obstiterunt, & quia vis tribunitia non nunquam libidini resistit consulari. Non potestatum dissimilitudo, sed animorum dissensio dissensionem facit. Cic. Orat. pro leg. agrar. ad pop. n. 14.

fumed authority without reason, and all the members conspired to the public welfare, without partiality, and without jealousy. (1)

A kind of transient blindness caused the majority of the Senate to forget their antient maxims in an affair of importance. Rome and Pyrrhus were almost agreed upon a treaty of peace, which would have been dishonourable to the commonwealth. Appius Claudius, blind and infirm as he was, comes in a chair to the Senate, dispels in an instant the clouds which had darkened the understandings of that wise assembly, and breaks off the treaty which was ready to be concluded.

Every one knows the famous answer of Cineas to Pyrrhus, who asked him his thoughts of the Roman Senate. He told him, when he saw that august body, he took them for so many Kings, such dignity, grandeur, and majesty appeared in their looks, in their discourse, and in their whole person.

Fabricius worthily supported this idea in his conversation with the same Pyrrhus, wherein the Roman, though but a private man, appeared greater than the King.

When the Roman power was considerably increased, Kings, with all their pomp, were little before a single Senator. Popilius astonished by his lofty and stately air, the potent King of ^{Antio-}chus Epi-

(1) The books of the Maccabees, as well as other apocryphal phanes. books, are deemed canonical in the church of Rome.

Syria, who was preparing for the conquest of Ægypt, by obliging him to give a positive answer before he walked out of a narrow circle which he drew round him.

What is it then that could make them so respected even by those before whom all mortals are wont to tremble? They were without attendance, without equipage, and many of them even gloried in poverty. True : but their great actions, their personal reputation, the fame of that body of which they were a part, went before them, and served them instead of a train. This authority, to which all that is great in the world paid homage, was the authority of virtue itself, and of merit, inherent in their person, and very different from that which arises solely from the power conferred by the public. Being born in dominion, and brought up in triumphs, whatever came from them had the stamp of nobleness, by which they were distinguished.

And when Rome, grown more powerful, had carried abroad her victorious arms, having seen from their infancy Kings led captive through the streets, and other Kings humbly soliciting to come in person to demand justice, and waiting at the door of the Senate their good or bad fortune ; such sights had infinitely exalted their souls, by placing under their feet, in a manner, the crowns of sovereigns, and the majesty of thrones. And so high a part was wonderfully sup-

supported by their conduct and sentiments. For their greatness was not built upon their fortune: it was rooted in them, and fixed in their mind and heart.

Such was the Senate, to which Rome owed all her power and all her conquests. Besides that from hence were chosen all the generals and commanders, the great undertakings were there formed, the generous resolutions taken, the important affairs of state managed with a secrecy and wisdom hardly to be conceived. A ^{Liv. l. 42.} debate on account of Perseus last King of Ma- ^{c. 14.} cedonia, held in an assembly of three hundred men, remained secret four whole years, and was not known till the war was over:

What refuge for a nation, if the advantage was known, is a council always subsisting, wherein, by a living tradition, are preserved without alteration and decay the antient maxims and spirit of the state: This is the justest idea that can be formed of the Senate of Rome. When instead of the Kings, whose despotic power, under Tarquin the Proud, was become intolerable, annual magistrates were created *, the Senate was looked upon from that time as

* Cùm regum potestatem non tulissent [maiores nostri,] ita magistratus annuos creaverunt, ut consilium Senatus reipublicæ proponerent sempiternum.—Senatum reip. custodem, præsidem, propugnatorem collocaverunt. Hujus ordinis auctoritate uti magistratus, & quasi ministros gravissimi consilii esse voluerunt: Senatum autem ipsum proximorum ordinum splendore confirmari, plebis libertatem & commoda tueri atque augere voluerunt. Cic. pro Sext. n. 137.

the public and standing council of the republic, and as guardian of the laws, soul of the deliberations, defender of the liberty and interests of the People. The authority, properly speaking, at least that which comes from prudence and wisdom, resided in that august body. It passed from thence, and was communicated to the magistrates, by whom it was administered; and the other orders of the republic contributed to heighten the merit and glory of the Senate. In a word, the Senate was the faithful depository of the political principles of the state.

We shall see, as I said, from the very beginning, a plan of government formed under the Kings themselves, and strengthened afterwards by the Consuls, from which Rome never swerved: I mean the great political principles.

When the meaner people were exempted from all taxes, the Senate, by declaring “that the poor paid a sufficient tribute to the state by bringing up their children †,” showed by that ordinance, they knew wherein consisted the true riches of a state.

In the design of forming at Rome a great empire, the first care was to people it well, and to fill it with inhabitants. This Romulus immediately did, by his invitation of strangers,

† *Pauperes satis stipendii pendere, si liberos educarent.* LIV. l. 2. c. 9.

and civil reception of those that came there to settle. The custom of incorporating with the Roman citizens all or part of the inhabitants of the neighbouring cities taken by force, enabled Rome to bring into the field, in the reign of the sixth King, eighty thousand men, and soon after above two hundred thousand. That policy was wanting to Sparta and Athens, and therefore they never had in the field at once above twenty thousand men.

The multitude of citizens, which daily increased at Rome with the new conquests, might be a burden to her: the colonies removed that inconvenience, and made it one of the greatest advantages and strongest supports of the empire. They produced two admirable effects: one, to ease the city of a great number of the poorer citizens; the other, to keep the principal posts, and accustom by degrees the foreigners to the Roman manners.

Never did Rome swerve from these two customs, co-eval almost with her foundation, and they were one of the chief causes of her grandeur, especially the first, which ingrafted the vanquished enemies among the citizens. By that means Rome never wanted foreign troops, which become very dangerous when they exceed or but equal the forces of the natives; because in those mercenary troops, mindful only of gain, are found neither zeal, nor security, nor obedi-

ence. Carthage felt that danger, which brought her to the brink of destruction.

I reckon not the Latines among the foreigners to Rome. She had, after long contests, wisely made them friends and allies, who vyed in zeal and fidelity with the Romans themselves, and left them nothing to fear, though their quota of troops equalled and even exceeded those of the Romans. The way they for ever gained so powerful a nation deserves notice, and will fully display the grand principle of the Roman policy with respect to the conquered nations, which was to engage them by lenity and clemency.

The Latines, a potent and warlike nation, after living a hundred years from the battle of Lacus Regillus under the laws of Rome like good and faithful allies, revolted at length, and carried their haughtiness and insolence so far as to demand that half the Senate of Rome and one Consul should be chosen among them. They were entirely vanquished, first by Manlius Torquatus, then by the grandson of the great Camillus. The last having forced them to submit to the mercy of the Romans, placed garrisons in all their towns, took hostages in great number, and returned to give account to the Senate of the condition the Latines were reduced to, which he did in these terms. “ In the deliberation you
“ are going to begin, the immortal Gods have
“ so put into your hands the destiny of the La-
“ tines,

“ tines, that it solely depends on you to deter-
 “ mine whether they shall live or die. You
 “ may on their part be sure of a perpetual
 “ peace, either by destroying or pardoning them.
 “ Will you treat them with the utmost rigor?
 “ It is in your power to ruin them utterly, and
 “ reduce to a desert the whole Latine country,
 “ which has hitherto supplied you with such
 “ excellent troops: Will you, after the exam-
 “ ple of your ancestors, increase your forces by
 “ the admission of the vanquished amongst your
 “ citizens? You have a fair opportunity, which
 “ will infinitely redound to your honour. For
 “ the surest means * to gain the nations you
 “ have conquered with your arms, is to make
 “ them relish our government. But whatever
 “ resolution you take, it must be speedy.” The
 Senate without hesitation chose the method of
 lenity, so clearly intimated in the Consul’s
 speech. Rome was amply recompensed by the
 constant fidelity of the Latines at all times, and
 particularly after the battle of Cannæ, where al-
 Liv. l. 24.
 C. 12.
 most all Italy siding with the conqueror, the
 Latines remained inviolably attached to the Ro-
 mans, and thereby afforded them means to re-
 trieve their loss.

Sometimes the Romans, to inspire terror, af-
 fected to leave in the taken cities terrible exam-
 ples of severity, and to appear merciless to those

* Certè id firmissimum longè imperium est, quo obedientes
 gaudent.

that stayed to be reduced by force: but, both from a principle of policy, and their natural temper, they inclined much more towards clemency. Virgil has perfectly represented this double character of the Romans in that beautiful line known to all the world:

Parcere subjectis, & debellare superbos.

To spare the vanquish'd, and pull down the Proud.

Anc.Hist. This leads me insensibly to the warlike virtues of the Roman people. I shall but just mention them, having enlarged upon them elsewhere. Every thing concurred to inspire them with a martial ardor. Their continual wars with their neighbours made the profession of arms necessary and familiar. Labour, which was their daily occupation, wonderfully fitted them for the military exercises. The toils of husbandry harden and strengthen the soldier, * whereas the city is proper only to soften him. No hardships discourage the hands which turn from the plough to the sword. What authors tell us of the Roman soldiers is scarce credible. They used to march in five hours twenty and sometimes twenty-four miles. During these marches they carried sixty pound weight. They

Veget.l.i.

* Fortior miles ex confragoso venit: segnis est urbanus & verna. Nullum laborem recusant manus, quæ ad arma ab aratro transferuntur. SENEC. Epist. 51.

were exercised in the custom of running and leaping in their arms, How many Roman youths hardened themselves by the exercises of the field of Mars, where, after long races on foot and in chariots, they threw themselves covered with sweat into the Tyber, and swam cross the river !

These are the things they gloried in, and thus were formed the soldiers and officers. The Roman youth, says Sallust, * as soon as they could bear arms, learned the art of war by inuring themselves in the field to the greatest hardships. They valued themselves not upon making entertainments, or following pleasures, but upon having fine armour and warlike horses. And therefore such men were not tired with any fatigues, discouraged by any difficulties, terrified by any enemy. Every thing was surmounted by their bravery. No conflict was more sharp and lively than that of emulation, leading them to contend with one another for the prize of glory. To strike an enemy, scale a wall, be distinguished for some brave action, was their whole ambition, their method of gaining reputation, and

* Jamprimum juvenus, simul ac belli patiens erat, in castris per laborem usu militiam discebat: magisque in decoris armis & militaribus equis, quam in scortis atque conviviis, libidinem habebat. Igitur talibus viris non labos insolitus, non locus ullus asper aut arduus erat, non armatus hostis formidolosus: virtus omnia domuerat. Sed gloriæ maximum certamen inter ipsos erat. Quisque hostem ferire, murum ascendere, conspici dum tale facinus faceret, properabat. Eas divitias, eam bonam famam, magnamque nobilitatem putabant. SALLUST. in bell. Catil.

in their opinion, the only ground of true nobility.

The soldiers thus inured were generally healthy and robust. It is not observed, in authors, that the Roman armies, which made war in so many climates, perish much with sickness : whereas it often happens now-a-days, that armies, without engaging, lie dead on the field.

Univ.
Hist.

Besides hardening the body, care was taken also to inspire courage. The military achievements, as Mr. Bossuet observes, had a thousand rewards which cost the public nothing, but were of infinite value to private persons, because glory, so precious to that warlike people, was annexed to them. A very small crown of gold, and generally a crown of laurel or oak-leaves, or of some viler herbage, became inestimable to the soldiers, who knew not any marks more excellent than those of virtue, nor any distinction more noble, than that which flows from glorious actions.

What effect, think ye, was produced in the minds of the soldiers and officers, by the encomiums pronounced by the general at the head of his army, after a battle wherein they had signalized themselves in a particular manner ! And these encomiums were attended with glorious monuments, with sensible and permanent proofs of their merit, which they left to their posterity as a precious inheritance. These were to them real patents of nobility ; these were moreover sure titles to rise to places more advantageous

tageous and honourable, which were granted only to merit, and not procured by intrigue and cabal. From a private soldier, a man might, by successively passing through several degrees, arrive to the Consulship. What agreeable prospect for an inferior officer to behold at a distance the chief dignities of the state and army, as so many rewards to which he could aspire!

Hence the courage of the meanest soldiers is inflamed, they are concerned for the glory and success of the undertakings, and are made, I had almost said, so many heroes. Hence pecuniary rewards are dispensed with, which burden and drain the state, and which being always insufficient to reward all the services, necessarily breed discontent, and create a discouragement almost universal. This industrious care to render virtue and merit honourable is the real character of the Roman republic, and the means which has conducted the most effectually and withal the most freely to its grandeur. A few oaken or laurel boughs, as I observed, sufficed to pay the services of those who helped to conquer the Universe.

As for the generals, what impression must the honour of a triumph make upon the soul of a person before whom walked the Senate in a body with all the orders of the state, for whom all the temples were smoaking with sacrifices offered to the Gods in thanksgiving for his victory, and who, shown as a public sight in
4 a state-

a stately chariot, saw marching before him the glorious spoils he had won, and was followed by the victorious army, who made the whole city resound praises unsuspected and justly deserved ! So august a ceremony seemed to raise the triumpher above the condition of mortals.

Liv. 1. 8. THE ROMANS in war knew how to make
c. 35. use of punishments as well as rewards. The
steadiness of a Dictator with respect to his ge-
neral of horse, who could be saved from death
but by the intreaties and urgent prayers of all
Ibid. c. 7. the People ; the inexorable severity of Consul
Manlius to his own son, whom he unmercifully
put to death, though victorious, for fighting
contrary to his orders : these examples made a
terrible impression of fear upon the People,
which became for ever the firm bond of mili-
tary discipline. Wherefore never was it ob-
served in any nation so inviolably as among the
Romans ; nor did any thing contribute so
much to render them victorious over all their
enemies. *

How should they have been otherwise than
victorious with troops formed, as we have seen,
and above all, guided in their operations by
principles the most proper to make conquerors ?
one of which was, not to know any other end

* *Disciplina militaris, qua stetit ad hanc diem Romana res.*
Liv. 1. 8. c. 7.

of a war but victory, † and for its sake to surmount by an indefatigable perseverance, all the obstacles and all the dangers by which it can be retarded. The greatest misfortunes, the most desperate losses, were incapable of daunting their courage, or making them accept a base and dishonourable peace. To grant nothing by compulsion, was a fundamental law of the Roman policy, from which the Senate never departed; and in the most melancholy junctures, weak counsels, instead of prevailing, were not so much as heard. As far back as Coriolanus, the Senate declared, no agreement could be made with the Volsci as long as they remained on the Roman territory. They proceeded in the same manner with Pyrrhus. After the bloody battle of Cannæ, wherein above fifty thousand Romans lay dead in the field, it was resolved, no proposal of peace should be listened to. Consul Varro, who had been the occasion of the defeat, was received at Rome as if he had been victorious, because in so great a misfortune he had not despaired of the Roman affairs ‡. Thus instead of disheartening the People by an unseasonable instance of severity, these generous Senators taught them by their example to bear up against ill fortune, and assume

† Nec finem ullum alium belli quàm victoriam noverit. LIV. l. 5. c. 6.

‡ Paulum puduit, Varro non desperavit. FLOR.

in adversity the haughtiness with which others are inspired by prosperity.*

One thing only, in my opinion, might have obstructed the conquests of the Roman People: I mean the too limited space of the Consulship, which often afforded not the general time to finish a war he had begun, a good part of the year being sometimes spent in preparations. This was, it must be confessed, a great inconvenience. Kings, in this respect, have a very considerable advantage. Not only free from all obstacles, but moreover masters of the affairs and of the times, they draw every thing by their projects, and are drawn by nothing †. This inconvenience was remedied, as far as was possible, by prolonging sometimes the command to the general as Proconsul, or continuing him in the Consulship itself; of which he was never sure, nothing being more uncertain than the issue of the Comitia or assemblies. The dread of a greater danger made the change of generals necessary in a republic excessively jealous of its liberty, as was the Roman. If the generals had been long continued at the head of the armies, they might have been able to usurp all the authority, and become masters of the state, as hap-

* In adversis vultum secundæ fortunæ gerere. Liv.

† Post tempus ad bella ierunt: ante tempus, comitiorum causa, revocati sunt: in ipso conatu rerum circumegit se annus. Atque hercule, Reges non liberi solum impedimentis omnibus, sed domini rerum temporumque, trahunt consiliis cuncta, non sequuntur. Liv. l. 9. c. 18.

pened under Cæsar in the latter end of the republic. Its destruction flowed from the prerogation of the command of the armies.

Except the inconvenience of the change of generals, which was made up to the republic by numberless advantages, every thing led to great conquests, but by slow and regular steps; as the constitution of the government, the excellent political principles, the nature of the troops, the ability of the generals, and above all, the steadiness of the Senate in an inviolable attachment to the antient maxims of the state.

By good fortune, the prosperous successes of the Romans, as I have observed, were not rapid, which would have infallibly weakened the conquerors by corruption, and sunk them by their own weight *. They afforded them time to strengthen themselves in the sound principles of probity, equity, moderation, disinterestedness, love of the public good; and to carry by successive wars and a continual habit of conquering, ability in the military art to the highest degree of perfection possible.

But at length the poison of prosperity prevailed, and changed the manners, which had no less conduced to the advancement of Rome,

* *Secundæ res sapientium animos fatigant.* SALLUST. in bello Catilin.

than the great talents of the generals. Extortion and violence, long unknown, began to creep in among the Roman magistrates, whose moderation had been the wonder of the universe. The destruction of Carthage, Rome's everlasting and formidable rival, the dread of whom kept her in breath, was the fatal date of the beginnings of her decay. Discord, avarice, ambition, civil wars, usual attendants on prosperity, quickly changed the face of the state. Then the antient manners degenerated, not by degrees, as before, but with a rapid course ran into all sorts of riot and excess *.

In the best times of the republic, it must not be imagined that the whole body of the state had the same sentiments of nobleness and greatness of soul. A small number of citizens and great men, eminent for an uncommon merit, and firmly attached to the antient maxims, influenced every thing; because at that time virtue, if it was not generally practised, was at least generally revered. Nay, afterwards, when the generals and magistrates began to be corrupted with luxury and sloth, there were some remains of that antient spirit of wisdom in the government, and of discipline in war,

* *Discordia & avaritia, atque ambitio, & cetera secundis rebus oriri sueta mala, post Carthaginis excidium maxumè aucta sunt* — *Ex quo tempore majorum mores, non paulatim ut antea, sed torrentis modo præcipitati.* SALLUST. in fragm.

which supported the republic, and made it still shine with some lustre *.

Cicero, in a fragment of his Books De Republica, preserved by St. Augustin, quotes a verse out of Ennius, wherein the poet makes the same observation as I have done : De Civ. Dei, l. 2. c. 21.

Moribus antiquis res statâ Romana, virisque.

“ The Roman republic stands solely by the antient manners and principles, and by the merit of the great men by whom they are practised ;” and upon this verse, which for its brevity and truth he considers as an oracle, he makes the following reflections †.

“ It is the union of these two advantages which has produced all the grandeur of Rome : on the one hand, the good manners, the wise political principles established from the beginning ; on the other, a succession of great men

* Ac mihi multa agitant, constabat paucorum civium egregiam virtutem cuncta patravisse ; eoque factum, uti divitias paupertas, multitudinem paucitas superaret. Sed, postquam luxu atque desidio civitas corrupta est, rursus respublica magnitudine sua imperatorum atque magistratuum vitia sustentabat. SALL. in bell. Catilin.

† Quem quidem ille versum, vel brevitate, vel veritate, tanquam ex oraculo mihi quodam esse effatus videtur. Nam neque viri, nisi ita morata civitas fuisset ; neque mores, nisi hi viri præfuissent, aut fundare, aut tamdiu tenere potuissent tantam & tam longè latèque imperantem rempublicam. Itaque ante nostram memoriam, & mos ipse patrius præstantes viros adhibebat, & veterum morem ac majorum instituta retinebant excellentes viri.

formed upon these antient principles and manners, and employed by the state in the administration of affairs. Before our times, says Cicero, that happy union was always the same, and these two advantages were ever united together; otherwise a republic so powerful and extensive as ours could not have subsisted so long with honour, nor so constantly kept up its reputation among all nations.

“ Our age * is very different from those happy days. We can look upon the republic as an excellent picture, as a painting of exquisite beauty, but of which the antiquity has deadened that lively and bright colouring which struck the eye, and bred admiration. Not only we neglect to re-enliven the colours, but are even unmindful to preserve at least the design and most distinguishing lines.

“ And indeed, †, what remains of those antient manners which according to the poet Ennius supported the republic? Instead of their

* *Nostre verò ætas, cum rempublicam sicut picturam accepisset egregiam, sed jam evanescentem vetustate, non modò eam coloribus iisdem, quibus fuerat, renovare neglexit; sed ne id quidem curavit, ut formam saltem ejus & extrema tanquam lineamenta servaret.*

† *Quid enim manet ex antiquis moribus, quibus ille dixit rem stare Romanam? quos ita oblivione obsoletos videmus, ut non modò non colantur, sed etiam ignorentur. Nam de viris quid dicam? mores enim ipsi interierunt virorum penuria. Cujus tanti mali non modò reddenda ratio nobis, sed etiam tanquam reis capitibus quodammodo dicenda causa est. Nostreis enim vitiis, non casu aliquo, rempublicam verbo retinemus, reapse verò jampridem amissimus.*

revival, they are so utterly buried in oblivion, that the very idea of them is lost. As for the great men capable of maintaining the honour of the republic, the want of such, every one knows, has destroyed the antient manners. Let us not flatter ourselves. So unhappy a change is to be laid to our charge: by our vices we have suffered our antient glory to wither, and of that perfect model of government which formerly gained us such repute, there remains nothing but the empty shadow of a republic."

Cicero might have added, that the victories of the second Scipio Africanus, the most considerable speaker in his dialogues *De Republica*, contributed chiefly to that change of manners, by the drunkenness which naturally attends great prosperity, by the luxury and pride they brought into Rome, and by the fatal security they procured the Romans from Carthage, which, as long as it subsisted, was their constant terror. And this total decay is not to be wondered at. Evils are without remedy, when vices become customary, and make the manners of a people *. There were still at Rome, after that time, great men, Marius, Sylla, Pompey, Cæsar, and some others: great men with respect to military virtues; but

* *Definit esse remedio locus, ubi, quæ fuerant vitia, mores sunt.*
SENEC. Epist. 39.

in whom appeared not the antient spirit of the republic, or the maxims of the antient government, that is to say, moderation, wisdom, justice, disinterestedness, love of the public good.

By what has been said it is manifest how dangerous it would have been for Rome to be raised on a sudden to a high degree of power and grandeur, and how advantageous and even necessary it was, that the slowness of her progress should afford time to lay solid foundations for an empire, which the Divine Providence was pleased to render universal.

For, there never was an empire either more flourishing or more extensive than the Roman. From the Euphrates and Tanais to Hercules's pillars and the Atlantic ocean, all the lands and all the seas were under their obedience. From the middle and center, as it were, of the Mediterranean sea, they included the whole extent of that sea, penetrating far and wide all the states round about, and making it the communication of their empire. It is astonishing to consider, that the nations which at present make kingdoms so considerable, all Gallia, all Spain, almost the whole island of Great Britain, Illyria to the Danube, Germany to the Elbe, Africa to the frightful and impassable deserts, Greece, Thrace, Syria, Egypt, all the kingdoms of Asia Minor, and those between the Euxine and Caspian seas, with many others, became

became Roman provinces, almost all before the end of the republic. Thus Mr. Bossuet describes the extent of the Roman empire, whose style would easily discover him without the addition of his name.

When I consider the Roman empire in that extent of provinces and kingdoms above-mentioned, I imagine I see a vast and stately edifice, the sight whereof alone strikes, surprizes, dazzles the eyes of the spectator, and leaves him in silent admiration; such beauty, grandeur, magnificence, does it at once present to him. How much time and pains must the foundations of such a structure cost, and how deep and wide must they be to support so immense a weight of buildings! Each part, when examined separately, appears a master-piece of art to which it seems impossible to make any addition. But whose skill is sufficient, or whose sight extensive enough, to comprehend and discern what makes the true beauty, and as it were the soul of such an edifice? I mean the justness of the proportions, the harmony and fitness of the several parts, the infinite variety whereof, artfully disposed, forms the whole, which reduces all to unity, and sets the value upon the work.

It would be certainly folly to believe that so well designed and perfect a disposition of the parts in a building was entirely owing to chance. Would it be less folly not to assign another

cause to the establishment and progress of the Roman empire? I do not understand how so sensible an historian as Plutarch, in his comparison of the Romans with Alexander, could ascribe to fortune only the Roman grandeur, and that of Alexander to his virtue alone. If that work be his, an opinion, so visibly contrary to truth, would be the effect of his blind passion for the Grecians, whose glory was his idol. But on many accounts it is justly doubted whether that treatise be Plutarch's. Cicero (as well as * Polybius) is of a very different opinion. "There is no man, says Cicero, but, as soon as he perceives that there are Gods, perceives also that the Divine Providence, by a particular protection, presided at the birth, growth, and preservation of the Roman empire." *

* Lib. 1.
p. 64.

It would not be, it is agreed, studying history like a man of good sense and judgment, not to observe the inclinations, the manners, the character, as well of the prevailing nations in general, as of the princes in particular and great men who appear on the scene of action. To view them with a transient and superficial glance only, is not to know them: they must be studied, examined, and thorough-

* Quis est qui — cùm deos esse intellexerit, non intelligat eorum numine hoc tantum imperium esse natum, & auctum, & re-tentum. De Harusp. resp. n. 19.

ly sifted. * This maxim is universally acknowledged. But, on the other hand, would it be studying history like a religious man and a Christian, to adhere to that consideration alone, and not refer things to their principles, by looking up to a superior and invisible cause that absolutely disposes of empires, and makes them subservient in the times and order he has fixed, to his designs upon mankind?

What more noble prospect for the eye of faith, and even for human curiosity, if it be ever so little enlightened, to behold with certainty, and without fear of mistake, the secret spring which from the creation of the world has put the whole universe in motion, and to see a God, who, from the highest heaven, holds in his hands the reins of all kingdoms, and disposes of them like an absolute sovereign! That same almighty God, the fountain of all goodness, willing to make known to mankind his supreme power over Kings and Monarchies, which he sets up and pulls down according to his pleasure, discovered the mystery to his prophets, and clearly and distinctly foretold to them the succession of the four great empires, namely, the Assyrian, Persian, Grecian, and Roman, which destroy one another at the times appointed by Providence, in order to give place

Daniel ii.
and vii.

* Depone istam spem, posse te summatim degustare ingenia maximorum virorum: tota tibi inspicienda sunt, tota tractanda. SENECA. Epist. 33.

to the everlasting kingdom of Christ, which is the term and end of all the empires of the world.

Who after this can question that God had great designs with respect to his church upon the Roman empire, which swallowed up all the empires of the universe, and to which he subjected all lands and all seas? The commerce of so many different nations, heretofore strangers to one another, and afterwards united under the Roman dominion, and in a manner joined by the use of the same language, * has been one of the most effectual means in the hands of Providence to advance the propagation of the Gospel.

This being once supposed, and it is undeniable, that God had particular views in the establishment of the Roman empire with respect to his church, and was pleased to raise it to a grandeur and power which had almost the same bounds with the universe; the reader, as he shall see Rome, by a chain and series of extraordinary events, grow, gather strength, and far extend her conquests, will admire the beauty, justness, proportion of the means used by Divine Providence for attaining its ends: means singular, new, till then unknown, and never after imitated; and he will acknowledge with

* Plutarch says that in his time the Roman tongue was almost universal. In Moral. p. 1010.

a religious surprize, that nothing could be devised more fuitable to the design intended by God.

Now Providence, according to its views upon men and nations, bestows on them talents proportionable to the grandeur they are designed for, as the Scriptures inform us particularly in the instance of Cyrus. It may be said, no nation has been more favoured in that respect, or more accomplished than the Roman people, whether they are considered with regard to moral virtues, or to political government, or to martial merit and the art of war. There has never been a republic more religious, or more abounding in good examples, or where avarice and luxury gained ground so late, or where simplicity and poverty were so much and so long in honour. * The encomium, given the Roman Senate by the Holy Ghost, is a demonstration how much the wisdom of the counsels, love of the public, steddiness to the maxims of the state, lenity and moderation in the government of the nations, prevailed in that august assembly. Courage, boldness, intrepidity in the midst of the greatest dangers ; an invincible patience in the hardest labours, an inexorable firmness to maintain the military discipline in its

* Nulla unquam respublica nec major, nec sanctior, nec bonis exemplis ditior fuit : nec in quam tam seræ avaritia luxuriaque immigraverint ; nec ubi tantus ac tam diu paupertati ac parsimoniæ honos fuerit. LIV. in Præf.

utmost rigour ; a settled resolution to conquer or die, a greatness of soul, and a constancy proof against all misfortunes, have at all times constituted the character of the Romans, and rendered them in the end victorious over all nations. We admire in them all these great qualities, but we are not generally apt enough to discern their Author, and look up to the fountain from whence they flowed.

God, intending to establish a great empire by the Romans, as he had before done by Cyrus and Alexander, took here a very different method. He had granted the qualities proper for the execution of his designs to the person of these two illustrious conquerors. They both founded vast empires in a very short space, and in their life-time : but their talents were not inherited by their descendants, or their successors.

It was very different with the Romans. The Roman empire was not founded nor raised to the state of grandeur it attained, by the rare endowments or rapid conquests of a single person : the Roman people themselves, the body of the state, formed that empire by slow degrees, and at several times. The great men that helped, each in their time, to establish, enlarge, and preserve it, had all different characters, but all followed the same principles. Such a conduct is uncommon. Generally every prince
fol-

follows his particular taste, manners, and maxims.

In relating the extraordinary virtues of the Romans, I do not pretend they were general, and without mixture of vices and crimes : that was far from being the case. God knew it, but however made them instruments of his particular designs, to which they contributed without knowing them : just as, if I may use the comparison, an architect, who alone has in his head the plan of the whole edifice he is going to build, and who to put it in execution, employs the hands of numberless workmen, skilful every man in their way, but in other respects little valuable, and often very vicious. Hence we ought still more to admire the conduct of Providence. God intended to form a great empire in the city of Rome, which he destined to be one day the center of religion, and capital of the Christian world. He gives those who govern it the fittest qualities to render a nation powerful and victorious : but withal, he leaves them to their passions and evil inclinations. The crimes of the Romans, their pride, ambition, injustice, and violence, are, on God's part, but a bare permission, which neither sways nor influences men in their criminal designs, but only directs their wickedness to the object which comes into the order of Providence. The disposition of their heart would equally lead them to such or such injustice :
but

but God, to whom all things are obedient, and who directs and orders even darkness itself, leaves an event free to the passions of men, but only as they may serve the execution of his designs.

It must then be acknowledged that the excellent qualities which we admire in the Romans, were the gifts of God, which they corrupted by the end they referred them to, namely, vain-glory, sole motive of their noblest actions. But that vain-glory, that insatiable thirst of praise, stifled in them, as St. Augustine observes, * avarice, injustice, and many other passions. But, however imperfect, or, to speak more justly, however sinful were their virtues, God was pleased not to suffer them to go entirely unrewarded. He gave them one reward, but wholly worldly and temporal, proportioned to their merits and wishes. They were rendered an object of admiration to all mankind: they gave law to many nations: they had the glory of establishing the finest empire that ever was: they were looked upon in all ages, and still are to this day, as men of extraordinary merit, and as patterns in every thing relating to the conduct and government of states. Vain and empty

* Romani causa honoris, laudis, & gloriæ consuluerunt patriæ
—pro uno isto vitio, id est amore laudis, pecuniæ cupiditatem
& multa alia vitia comprimentes. S. AUGUST. de Civ. Dei, l. 5.
c. 13.

reward, but worthy those who are blind enough to be pleased with it!*

There are many other things of moment to be remarked on the government and state of the Roman republic, which I omit, to put an end to a Preface already too long. If a fuller knowledge of these matters be desired, I refer the reader to Mr. Bossuet's wise reflections in his Discourse on Universal History, of which I have made use in some places; and to a late work, entitled, "Considerations on the Causes of the Grandeur and Decay of the Romans," which is very short but very good, and extremely proper to give a just notion of the character of that people.

Printed in
the year
1735.

* Si neque hanc eis terrenam gloriam excellentissimi imperii concederet, non redderetur merces bonis artibus eorum, id est virtutibus, quibus——tanquam vera via nisi sunt ad honores, imperium, gloriam. Honorati sunt in omnibus ferè gentibus: imperii sui leges imposuerunt multis gentibus: hodièque literis & historia gloriosi sunt penè in omnibus gentibus. Non est quòd de summi & veri Dei justitia conquerantur. "Perceperunt mercedem suam:" (adds some Father) "vani vanam." S. AUGUST. de Civ. Dei, l. 5. c. 15.







T H E

R O M A N H I S T O R Y

F R O M T H E

F O U N D A T I O N o f R O M E

T O T H E

B A T T L E o f A C T I U M.

B O O K T H E F I R S T.

I N T R O D U C T I O N.

I Have no occasion to begin the Roman History with observing that the years not only before, but long after, the foundation of Rome, contain some events entirely improbable, and more like fabulous inventions than historical facts grounded on authentic memoirs. It is usual, every one knows, for antiquity, fond of what excels and surprizes, to embellish with the marvellous the beginnings of great cities and powerful states, and to introduce some Deity to render their origin sacred and august to all ages. All the Roman historians that have reached our times, authors in other respects of great judgment and sense, have believed this method indispensable, and inserted in their writings facts and events which they plainly perceived to be false and absurd, but which a popular

lar tradition*, transmitted from age to age, and antient as Rome itself, obliged them to regard to a certain degree, though not without delivering them for what they weré. For they have taken care from time to time to acquaint us what credit they deserve by plain intimations of their own private opinion: and Livy begins his history with a declaration that he intends neither to assert nor refute the extraordinary and wonderful things advanced about Rome. He only says, if it is allowable for any nation to render their origin venerable by referring it to a Deity, such is the glory, such the conquests of the Roman people, that if they claim the God of War for father to themselves and to their founder, the rest of the nations should be as ready to grant them that privilege as they were to submit to their empire†. Fables of this kind, though they should seem to be received and embraced by the Historians, no way affect the truth of the facts with which they are joined; neither, as Abbé Sallier has largely demonstrated, ought they to throw any suspicion or doubt on the history in general.

Memoirs
of the A-
cademy of
Belles
Lettres,
Vol. VI.

Before I proceed to the History itself of Rome and the foundation thereof, I shall relate in the first chapter what Dionysius Halicarnassensis informs us of the foregoing times, but this very briefly, because these antient facts are of little importance: and herein I shall follow Livy's example, who does but just mention them in a very cursory manner.

* *Famæ rerum standum est, ubi certam derogat vetustas fidem.*
Liv. l. 7. c. 6.

† *Quæ ante conditam condendamve urbem, poëticis magis decora fabulis, quam incorruptis rerum gestarum monumentis traduntur, ea nec affirmare, nec refellere, in animo est. Datur hæc venia antiquitati, ut, miscendo humana divinis, primordia urbium augustiora faciat. Et, si cui populo licere oportet consecrare origines suas, ea belli gloria est populo Romano, ut, cum suum conditorisque sui parentem Martem potissimum ferat; tam & hoc gentes humanæ patiantur æquo animo, quam imperium patiuntur.* T. LIVIUS. in Proœmio.

C H A P. I.

Summary of what passed in Italy before the foundation of Rome.

S E C T. I.

Antient nations first inhabitants of Italy. Evander. Hercules. Latinus. Æneas arrives in Italy, marries Latinus's daughter, and builds Lavinium. War with Turnus and Mezentius. Ascanius, son of Æneas, founds Alba Longa. Succession of the kings of Alba.

ROME, according to Dionysius Halicarnassensis, owed its origin to the Greeks. It is indeed certain that several Grecian colonies came at different times and settled in Latium or the neighbouring countries, whose first known inhabitants were called Siculi, a barbarous people, natives of the country, that is, whose origin is not traced in history. Some believe the Aborigines, from whom the Romans descend, to be also natives of Italy, and so named as being sons of the soil, that is, sprung originally from thence (1).

Many years before the siege of Troy, a colony of Arcadians under the leading of Ænotrus settled in Italy, called at that time Ænotria. Afterwards Italus, a descendant of Ænotrus, left it his name, which it retains to this day. Porcius Cato the Censor, with several other noted authors, hold the Aborigines to be descended from these Arcadians.

In process of time, a colony of Pelasgi, natives of Peloponnesus, but inhabitants of Thessaly, compelled to abandon their country, took refuge among the Aborigines. These two nations with united forces drove out the Siculi, who possessed the country where

(1) As Dionysius will have the Aborigines to come from Arcadia, and to be so called from their living upon mountains, the etymology of the word must be from *ἀργεῖον γένος*, that is, natives of the mountains. DION. HAL. l. i. p. 11.

HISTORY BEFORE THE

Rome was afterwards built. The Siculi withdrew to an adjacent island, named Trinacria from its three promontories, and held in part by the Sicani *, a people originally from Spain. This island was afterwards called Sicily.

A. M.
2760.
Ant. C.
1244.

About sixty years before the Trojan war, Evander, banished from Peloponnesus, arrived with his Arcadians in Italy. Faunus, who then reigned over the Aborigines in the little territory of Italy called Latium, gave them, being few in number, a civil reception, with as much land as they wanted. There they formed a small town, calling it Palantium, in remembrance of their native place of the same name in Arcadia. It was afterwards called by the Romans Palatium, from whence mount Palatine took its name. Evander succeeded Faunus.

Some years after the arrival of these Arcadians, Hercules came into Italy with a powerful army, to conquer that country, having already subdued Iberia. He had vanquished and slain Geryon, feigned by the poets to have three bodies, because he was king of three large kingdoms in Spain. He brought with him Geryon's oxen, which were remarkably beautiful. All the world knows the boldness and tragical end of Cacus, an adventure so elegantly sung by Virgil, and not refused a place by Livy in his history. This famous robber stole from Hercules some of these oxen, and was killed by that hero. Evander commanded then in those parts, rather honoured for his accomplishments, than obeyed as a Sovereign. The art of writing *, an unheard of prodigy to people ignorant of all arts, gained him respect. But nothing procured him the veneration of these uncivilized people so much as his mother Carmenta's reputation, who was reckoned a goddess †. She had been, before the Sibyl's arrival in Italy, the oracle of these na-

* This is mentioned by Dion. Halicarn. l. 1. p. 17.

† He taught these people the use of the Greek alphabet, which were the first letters used by the antient Latines.

‡ She was called Themis by the Greeks.

tions. Evander, pretending to have heard long before from Carmenta's mouth, that a Hercules, son of Jupiter and Alcmena, was destined by the Fates to be a God, no sooner heard the name of Cacus's vanquisher, but he resolves to merit his protection, by being the first to pay him divine adoration. He instantly erects an altar, and after imparting to him the prediction of the Oracle, sacrifices a young bull to his honour.

It was decreed, at the request of Hercules, and with the consent of the whole nation, that the like solemnity should be for ever annually celebrated after the Grecian rites (which he taught them himself) having selected for that end two of the noblest families, the Potitii and Pinarii, to preside at the ceremony. It will hereafter be seen, how the Potitii became extinct, for offering (it is said) to lay these ceremonies upon public slaves. The Pinarii were still in being in Cicero's time. Hercules, when he went away, left some of his Grecian followers in Italy, who, uniting with the Aborigines, lived together in the same city in so good understanding, that they might have been deemed the same people.

About fifty-five years after the departure of Hercules, Latinus, reputed son of Faunus, but real son of Hercules, was king of the Aborigines, and in the thirty-fifth year of his reign. From him were the people called Latines, and the country Latium*, which was then of very narrow extent. About that time the Trojans, who had with Æneas escaped the flames of Ilium, landed at Laurentum on the Tyrrhenian coast near the mouth of the Tiber, in the country of the Aborigines. Dionysius Halicarnassensis asserts and proves that the Trojans were of Grecian extraction. Æneas brought with him the statues of the Greater Gods, and the Palladium, deposited afterwards in the temple of Vesta, and committed to

A. M.
2822.
Ant. C.
1182.

* Others think the country was so called from the time of Saturn's flying thither from Crete, to avoid the persecution of his son Jupiter, à latendo.

the custody of the Vestal Virgins*, with strict orders not to expose it to view. The Aborigines immediately drew together, under the command of Latinus their King, to oppose the foreigners. But Latinus enquiring into the reason of their landing in his dominions, was informed, they were Trojans, that under the conduct of Æneas, son of Anchises and Venus, were in search of a place to settle and found a city. Beholding, with admiration mixed with respect, that illustrious people and the hero their commander equally ready for war or for peace, he gave Æneas his hand in token of friendship. Mutual congratulations passed between the two armies. Latinus received Æneas into his palace; and to strengthen their alliance, gave him, in the presence of his household gods, his daughter Lavinia in marriage. A city was founded by Æneas, and called Lavinium from his new consort, by whom he soon had a son named Ascanius.

This marriage raised the Trojans and Aborigines a common enemy: Turnus, king of the Rutuli†, to whom Lavinia was promised before the Trojan prince's arrival, enraged to see the preference given a stranger, denounced war against both, and gave them battle, which proved unfortunate to both sides. The Rutuli were defeated, but the conquerors lost Latinus, who commanded in person. Turnus and his followers, conscious of the ill situation of their affairs, implore the assistance of Hettruria. Mezentius, sovereign of that flourishing kingdom, kept his court at Cære, an opulent city for those days. As he had always looked with a jealous eye on the Trojan colony, and fancied he saw in the increase of that new power a just cause of alarm to the neighbouring states, he readily joined in a league with the Rutuli‡.

* Under the emperor Commodus, the temple of Vesta being burnt down, the Vestal Virgins saved the Palladium from the flames, and carried it through the Via Sacra to the emperor's palace. HERODIAN. in vit. Commod. p. 39.

† Inhabitants of the maritime parts of La Campagna di Roma.

‡ Jam inde ab initio minimè lætus novæ origine urbis, & tum nimio plus, quàm satis tutum esset accolis, rem Trojanam crescere ratus, haud gravatim socia arma Rutulis junxit. LIV.

FOUNDATION OF ROME.

7

Æneas, wanting the entire affection of the Aborigines to withstand the terrible storm that hung over his head, caused his own and that nation to become one for the future, governed by the same laws, under the name of the Latine people. This so gained the Aborigines, that they proved to him as faithful and steady as the Trojans.

Secure of the affection of his subjects, whose union daily increased, Æneas might have kept within his walls, and from thence repulsed the forces of Hetruria. However, he courageously ventured to meet so formidable an enemy. The Latines obtained a second victory, which was also the last action of Æneas, and the period of his mortal life. His tomb was still to be seen in Livy's time on the banks of the Numicus (1). Divine honours were paid him by the name of Jupiter Indiges†.

His son Ascanius was not yet fit to reign: but, during his minority, the government was so successfully managed by Lavinia, a princess of great ability and application, that she resigned to the young king his father's and grandfather's inheritance in the same state she had received it. It is questioned whether this prince was Lavinia's son or another Ascanius, first named Iulus, born to Æneas by Creusa before the destruction of Troy, who followed his father to Italy, and from whom the Julian family boast their extraction and name. However this be, it is certain he was son to Æneas.

Ascanius seeing Lavinium very populous, and as flourishing as cities could be at that time, left his mother, or (if you will) his mother-in-law to reign there, and founded on mount Alban another city called Alba Longa, because it was extended in length along the side of the hill. The kingdom of Alba, in the computation of Dionysius Halicarnassensis, lasted four hundred and thirty years, from the arrival

(1) Now Rio de Nimi, formerly a river, now a small rivulet.

† The heroes who by their actions had merited the apotheosis, were stiled Dii Indigetes.

of Æneas in Italy to the foundation of Rome. The interval between the building of Lavinium and of Alba was scarce thirty years, and yet so considerable was the Latine power now grown, especially after the defeat of the Hetrurians, that neither Mezentius nor any other neighbouring prince dared to attack them; not even after Æneas' death, or during the regency of Lavinia or minority of Ascanius. By a treaty of peace, the river Albula, since called the Tyber, was made the boundary of the two nations.

Ascanius left the crown to his son named Sylvius, from being accidentally born in a wood. His son and successor was Æneas Sylvius, father of Sylvius Latinus, founder of some colonies known by the name of the Antient Latines. All the kings of Alba bore the name of Sylvius. After Latinus's death succeeded from father to son, Alba, Atys, Capys, Capetus, and Tiberinus, who being drowned in attempting to pass the Albula, has immortalized his name by giving it to that river. The kingdom fell to his son Agrippa, and after him to Romulus Sylvius, who being killed by lightning, was succeeded by Aventinus, the place of whose burial was from him called mount Aventine, one of the hills on which Rome afterwards stood.

S E C T. II.

Amulius dethrones his elder brother Numitor. Rhea Sylvia, Numitor's daughter, is shut up among the Vestals, and delivered of Romulus and Remus, imputed to the god Mars, who are privately educated. When grown up, they kill Amulius and restore their grandfather to the throne. Death of Remus.

Dionys.
l. i. p. 57.
—76.
Liv. l. i.
c. 4—7.
Plut. in
Rom. p.
19—23.

PROCA, son and successor of Aventinus, had two sons, Numitor and Amulius. At his death he bequeathed the kingdom to his eldest son Numitor. But the ambition of Amulius regarded neither the last will of a father nor the rights of an elder brother.

ther. Not content with usurping the throne, to complete his villany, he causes his nephew Ægeſtus to be murdered; and if he ſuffers his niece Rhea Sylvia to live, he places her among the Veſtals *, on pretence of doing her honour, but in reality to deprive her of all hopes of children. Notwithſtanding theſe precautions, the Veſtal becomes mother of twins, Romulus and Remus. Some authors aſcribe theſe children to Amulius himſelf. Rhea declared ſhe was raviſhed by Mars, whether ſhe believed ſo, or in excuſe for a fact which, without the authority of a God, would have been conſidered as ſacrilege, and puniſhed with death. But, ſays Livy, neither Gods nor men delivered either herſelf or ſons from the king's cruelty. He commanded her to be cloſely impriſoned in chains, and her children thrown into the Tyber.

By good chance, the river, then overflown, turned the neighbouring fields into a ſort of pond, which rendered the current inacceſſible. The men who were charged with drowning the children, believing they would as ſoon periſh in ſtanding water, ſtopped at the firſt inundation, and expoſing them in their cradle, thought they had ſufficiently executed the King's orders. It is ſaid, the cradle, after floating ſome time, was left on dry ground by the waters retiring; and that a wolf, deſcending from the mountains to drink, ran at the cry of the children, and gave them ſuck. They are alſo reported to have been fed by a woodpecker. Fauſtulus, the King's ſhepherd, was witneſs of theſe things, and beheld with admiration the wolf caſſing and licking the infants as if they had been her young, and the infants hanging on her dugs as if ſhe had been their mother. (This kind office was performed by the wolf under a fig-tree, which afterwards became very famous. I wonder at Tacitus † for ſeriously ſay-

Plin. l. 15.
c. 8.

* What relates to the Veſtals will hereafter be explained.

† Eodem anno Ruminalem arborem in comitio, quæ ſuper oſtingentos & quadraginta annos Remi Romulique infantiam texerat, mortuis ramalibus, & aſcendente trunco deminutam, prodigii loco habitum eſt, donec in novos ſætus revireſcerat. TACIT. Annal. l. 15. c. 58.

ing this fig-tree remained above eight hundred years.) Faustus, struck with so surprizing a sight, brought home the children, and delivered them to his wife Laurentia to nurse. The lewd life of this woman is said by some to gain her from the shepherds the nickname of Lupa, (or wolf) which gave occasion to this fabulous story.

Thus it was that Romulus and Remus were born and nursed. From their very infancy, a certain air of superiority and grandeur which appeared in their looks, joined with an uncommon stature, seemed to discover their birth. They were sent (Plutarch says) to Gabii, to be instructed in literature and all other things proper for children of quality. They led however a shepherd's life with the rest, working for their livelihood, and building their own huts. One of these huts is affirmed by Dionysius Halicarnassensis to remain in his days by the name of Romulus. It was deemed as something so sacred, that the people whose business it was to support it, durst not add any ornament to it, but only repaired the decays occasioned by age and weather.

In process of time, the two brothers, disdaining an idle pastoral life, applied themselves to the chase in the neighbouring forests. Grown, by this exercise, robust and intrepid, they are no longer content with attacking wild beasts: they fall upon the robbers, carry off their booty, and divide it among the shepherds. Crowds of youths daily increasing their number, they were able at last to hold assemblies, and celebrate games.

One day as the festival of the Lupercalia (1), formerly instituted by Evander, was solemnizing in the country, a band of robbers, who sought an opportunity

(1) This festival was sacred to Pan, the god of the country, and was chiefly celebrated in the villages. Some have imagined the Lupercalia were instituted in memory of the wolf that preserved Romulus and Remus; but as that story is very probably a mere fiction, the other opinion, that they were brought by Evander into Italy, is more likely. The name is derived from *λύκος*, for so Pan is called in Greek, perhaps from *λυκος* a wolf, in Latin *lupus*, because Pan's chief business

tunity to be revenged of the two brothers, found means to surprize them. Romulus escaped out of their hands, but Remus was taken and carried before the king by the robbers. As they accused him and his brother, among other crimes, of making incursions and committing robberies with a band of vagabonds on Numitor's lands, Amulius sent the prisoner to Numitor, that he might do himself justice.

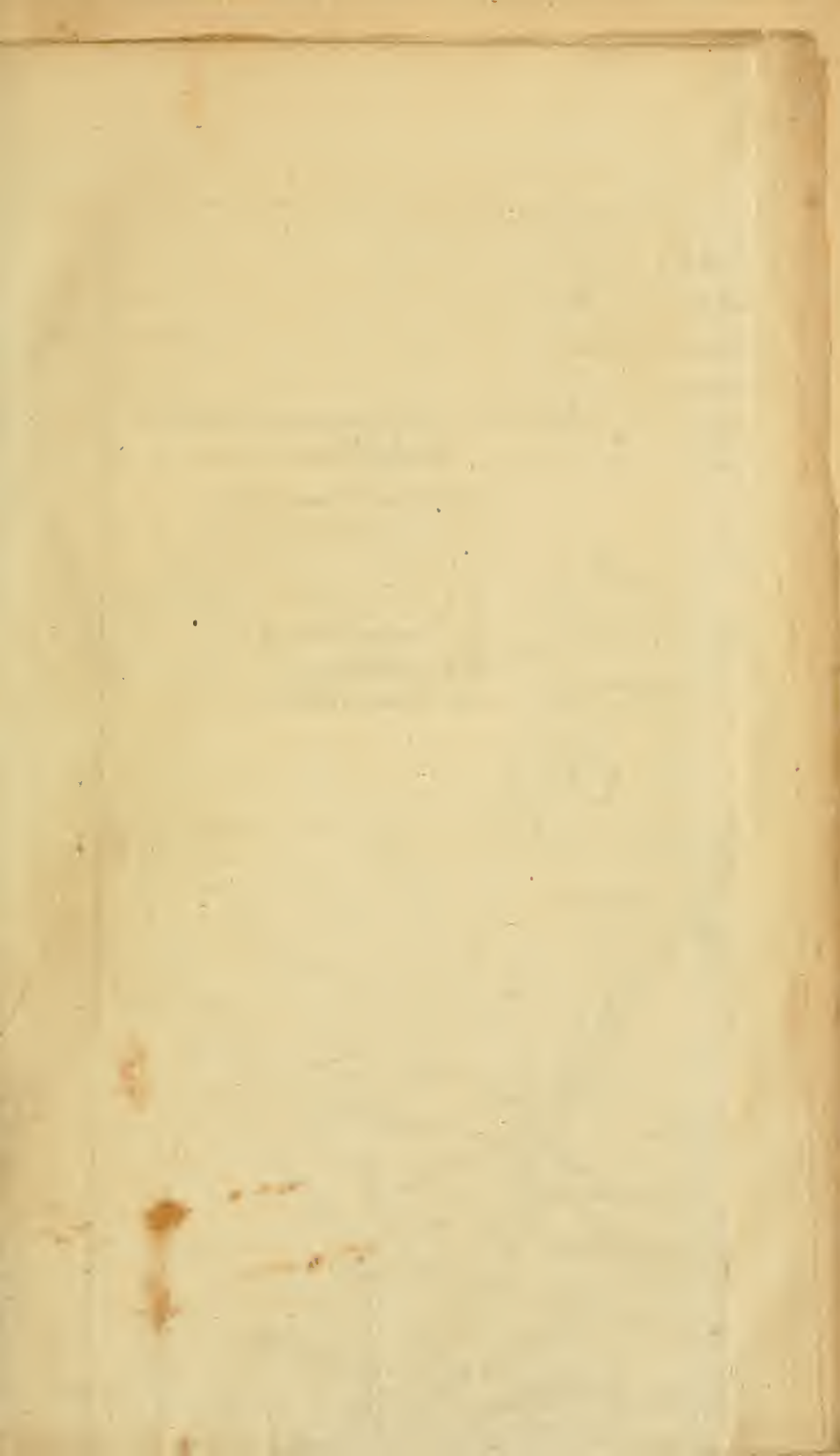
Faustulus had all along flattered himself that the twins he had under his care, were of the blood royal. He knew, they were found by him about the time that the sons of Rhea were by Amulius exposed on the Tyber. But, persuaded that the time was not yet come, he was waiting till a favourable juncture or necessity should compel him to reveal the secret. The danger the prisoner was in, forced him to open the matter to Romulus. On the other hand, Numitor had just learnt that Remus had a twin-brother. This circumstance, the age of the two brothers, (they were passed eighteen) with their noble inclinations, all brought his grandsons to his remembrance; and the questions he put entirely convinced him that his prisoner was Remus. From that time nothing was thought of but the tyrant's destruction. Romulus not having a sufficient number to go together and force the palace, orders his people by different ways to repair thither at an hour appointed. He comes and joins them, and in concert with Remus, followed by

was the protecting the sheep from such beasts of prey. The Priests were called Luperci. The ceremonies were these. Two goats (Pan is supposed to have goats feet) and a dog (the shepherd's companion) were sacrificed, and the foreheads of two noble youths were stained with the bloody knife by the Luperci, and the blood wiped off with locks of wool dipped in milk, the two boys laughing all the while. This done, the goat-skins were cut into thongs and whips for the two youths, who ran about the streets and fields all naked but the middle, lashing all they met. The young women never avoided the strokes, as fancying them to be great promoters of conception and delivery. This festival was celebrated the 15th of February. There were at first two colleges of priests, the Fabiani for Romulus, and the Quinctiliani for Remus. A third was added by the senate to the honour of Julius Cæsar. See PLUT. in Rom. SEXT. POMP. FESTUS. OVID. Fast. DION. CASS.

Numitor's domestics, flies to attack the king. Amulius is slain.

Numitor, at the first outcry, published that the enemy had surprized the city and was now master of the palace. By this false alarm he draws to the citadel, as to a place of defence, all the men of Alba capable of making resistance. But as soon as he saw the conspirators come to him with an air of triumph, he assembles the Albans. He puts them in mind of his brother's outrages to him : relates the origin and birth of his grandsons ; their education, and the manner of his knowing them. He concludes with informing them of the tyrant's death, and declares himself the author. Then Romulus and Remus advance with their followers into the midst of the assembly, proclaim their grandfather king, and by their example, the title and authority of sovereign is confirmed to him by the unanimous acclamations of the people.

The two brothers, leaving Numitor the kingdom of Alba, resolved to found a city in the very place where they had been exposed and brought up. They were joined by a multitude of Albans and Latines, besides a great number of shepherds, which inspired them with hopes that the city they were going to found would soon outshine Alba and Lavinium. The desire of reigning, fatal passion, and the vice of their family, seized then the two brothers, and created a difference between them, which began at first with moderation, but ended in a very tragical manner. As birth-right in the case of twins could not claim a precedence, they both agreed to consult the flight of birds, to know for which the tutelar gods had reserved the honour of naming and governing the rising city. To this end, Romulus was placed on mount Palatine, and Remus on mount Aventine. Remus first discovered vultures, to the number of six : but the moment he declared it, Romulus saw twelve. Whereupon two parties are formed. One declares for him that first saw the vultures ; the other for him that saw most. Contests ensue ; passions are raised ; the quarrel grows bloody ; and



PLAN OF ANCIENT ROME

For the understanding of the Roman History of M^r ROLLIN.

Designed from Enquiries of Virro Ligorio, Alefandro Donati, & Eamiano Nardini;

The Whole adapted to an exact Plan of the City of ROME,

Published by Domenico Regis in the Papedom of Innocent XII.

By M^r D'ANVILLE Geographer in Ordinary to the King of France.

May 1736.

Which have their Limits and Numbers in the Plan.

The several Quarters or Districts of ROME according to the Distribution of Augustus

- I. Porta Capena.
- II. Coemeterium.
- III. Isis & Moneta.
- IV. Templum Pacis or Via-Sacra.
- V. Esquilina.
- VI. Alta-Semita.
- VII. Via-Lata.

- VIII. Forum Romanum.
- IX. Circus Flaminius.
- X. Palatium.
- XI. Circus-maximus.
- XII. Piscina Publica.
- XIII. Aventinus.
- XIV. Trans-Tiberina.



SCALE

Ancient Roman Mile, of 706 Toises.

Present Roman Mile, of 704 Toises.

Third of a French League, of 3000 Geometrical Fathoms.

100 200 300 400 500 600 700 800.

One English Mile of 1760 Yards.

and Remus is killed in the fray. His death is otherwise related. As Romulus was ordering the ditch which was to surround the walls of the new city, Remus jested on the narrowness of the work, and adding insult to raillery, contemptuously leaped over the ditch, to expose his brother. Romulus, enraged at the affront, struck him dead, saying, "Thus perish all who dare act like him." Cicero considers Remus's raillery as an empty excuse for Romulus's criminal ambition, by which he was prompted to this murder for the sake of reigning alone: and notwithstanding his respect for the deified founder of Rome, expressly condemns him. *Peccavit igitur pace vel Quirini vel Romuli dixerim.* Offic. l. 3.
c. 41.

Rome, by some authors, is believed more ancient than Romulus, by whom (say they) it was only restored. (1)



CHAP. II.

The HISTORY of the Seven KINGS of ROME.

The REIGN of ROMULUS.

SECT. I.

Romulus founds the city of Rome on mount Palatine. He is elected King. He divides the people into three Tribes, and thirty Curie: into Patricians and Plebeians. Senate. Patrons and Clients. Knights. Asylum opened for all sorts of persons. Wise regulations established by Romulus.

ROMULUS, by his brother's death become sole master, applied himself with fresh ardour to raising the walls of the city, and building the houses which they were to inclose. The colony at first was pretty A. M.
3253.
Ant. C.
751.
Of R. 1.
Liv. l. 1.
c. 8.

(1) Some make the Pelasgi the founders of Rome, and to call it so from the Greek word Πάμν, strength. Others say it was built by some Trojans, among whom was a woman of note called Roma. Solinus says

Dionys. pretty numerous: but the dissension of the leaders,
 l. 2. p. 77 followed by a conflict, destroyed many, and caused
 ---87. others to withdraw. It was now reduced to three
 Plut. p. 24. thousand foot and three hundred horse. Romulus
 had marked out with a plough a square round the hill,
 making a continued furrow to shew where the founda-
 tions of the walls were to be laid, except in the places
 designed for the gates. For there, holding up the
 plough, he carried it without continuing the furrow:
 hence the word *porta*, a gate. This ceremony was
 ever after observed on the like occasion. A space was
 left within between the walls and the houses, on
 which it was unlawful to build, and another without,
 which was not to be ploughed. This space was called
Pomœrium (1). The work, as well without as within,
 was soon brought to perfection. Romulus, bred in
 a hardy pastoral life and inured to martial exercises,
 dedicated the new city to his reputed father the God
 of War.

à portan-
do.

Cato, whose opinion I shall follow, places the foundation of Rome on the eleventh of the Calends of May, (that is, the twenty-first of April) in the first year of the VIIth Olympiad: which answers to the year 751 before Christ, and of the world 3253. This æra is put back two years by Varro, and placed in the third year of the VIth Olympiad. On that day a pastoral festival, called *Palilia* (2), was celebrated at Rome. It is not certainly known, whether this festival was owing to the foundation of Rome, or instituted before.

says Evander was the founder. The author of a late dissertation on the uncertainty of the five first ages of the Roman history endeavours to shew that it cannot be made appear by whom or when Rome was founded.

(1) Though our author, after Livy, calls the *Pomœrium* that space of ground on both sides the walls, which at the first building of a city was consecrated by the augurs, and on which no structures were to be raised, yet according to Plutarch, the line marked out by the plough, was called *Pomœrium*, from *pone mœnia*. Hence the phrase *pomœrium proferre*, to signify the enlarging of the city.

(2) The festival of *Pales*, goddess of shepherds. See a description of the superstitions used by the shepherds on that day in Ovid, *de Fastibus*, 4. v. 721, &c. The same day was also called *Urbis natalis*.

Romulus,

Romulus, having employed his first care in building the walls and houses of the growing city, by Numinator's advice, whom he always consulted, assembled the people to know what form of government should be established. He represented to the assembly, "that the force of arms, acquired by courage and discipline, is a strong bulwark against foreign invasions: that the union of the citizens, which can prevail in a nation only by sobriety and justice, is the most sovereign remedy against domestic troubles." He displayed the various kinds of government used by different nations, with their respective advantages and defects, which rendered a choice very difficult: adding, "To you it belongs to see and consult together, whether you had rather be governed by one or a select number of magistrates, or whether the government shall be entirely popular *. I am ready to submit to what form you shall please to establish. Though I think myself not unworthy to command, yet am I willing to obey. I am content with the honours already heaped on me, the chusing me for head of the colony, and calling the city after my name."

When Romulus had thus spoken, the people considered apart what choice they should make. The consultation was not long, and Romulus was intreated to take upon him the government. "Who (say they) has a better claim than you to the crown? You are of the blood of our kings, and have all their royal endowments. We have already made you head of our colony, and upon all occasions you have supported that dignity with all the courage and prudence that can be desired." Romulus replied, "He was extremely sensible of the resolution made in his favour: but how worthy soever he appeared of the crown, he begged leave not to accept of that honour, till the Gods by some new prodigy had confirmed their choice." A day was appointed for that ceremony. Victims were offered by Romulus with the

* Dionysius Halicarnassensis does not add this third form: but it seems necessary.

usual rites. He had but just ended his prayer, when a bright flash of lightning (if the historian be credited) was seen on his left, and extended itself to the right : which was deemed a fortunate omen by the Romans †. Then was Romulus declared King in form.

Frequent mention will be made in the sequel of Auspices, as well as Augurs and Aruspices, without whose interposition few public affairs were transacted. It will therefore be proper to give some idea of them.

Auspices were chiefly taken these two ways.

First by the flight, singing, or feeding of birds.

Cic. de Di- The flight of a raven on the left, and of a crow on
vin. l. 1. the right, were good omens, so was also a clear and
n. 12. shrill note. *Ante consulem hæc dicentem, corvus voce*
Liv. l. 10. *clarâ occinuit. Quo latus augurio, &c.* As for the feed-

ing of chickens, the Pullarius or keeper let them out of their coop, and threw down a handful of crumbs or grain. If they seized the meat greedily, and scattered part on the ground, the omen was favourable, and this was called *tripudium solistimum* (1). On the contrary, if they refused to eat, the omen was fatal. The story of P. Claudius the consul is well known, who, ready to engage at sea in the first Punic war, and hearing the chickens would not come out of their coop, ordered them to be thrown into the sea, with this jest, "If they will not eat, let them drink." But he was vanquished. I need not say, his defeat was caused by his rashness, and not by the contempt of so silly and childish a ceremony.

Val. Max.
l. 1. c. 4.

The second way of taking auspices, was from certain observations in the heavens. The Augur marked in the air with the (Lituus or) augural staff bent at the end, a certain space to observe what should pass there : this space was called *Templum*, as well as the place where he stood to make his observations. In this

Dionys.
l. 2. p. 81.

† Fulmen sinistrum auspiciū optimum est ad res omnes, præterquam ad comitia. Cic. de Divin. l. 2. n. 74.

(1) Tripudium, quasi Terripavium, from striking the earth; the old word Pavire signifying Ferire. Festus mentions tripudium solistimum and tripudium sonivium, both derived from the crumbs falling to the ground.

manner

manner it was that Romulus perceived Jupiter's approbation of his election to the crown, having seen lightning come out on his left side and proceed to his right. This ceremony, which was also observed when Numa was called to the crown, is largely described by Livy. But these pretended omens, favourable on certain occasions, were not so with respect to the Comitia. When lightning was seen, or thunder heard, the assemblies of the people by centuries could not be held: *Jove tonante, fulgurante, comitia populi habere nefas.* Liv. l. 1. c. 18. De Divin. l. 2. n. 43.

These methods of consulting the will of the Gods were called Auspicium, from the aspect of birds, *ab avium aspectu*, from the old word *specio*, or Augurium from the notes of birds, *ab avium garritu*.

The pleasure of the Gods was also consulted by the inspection of the entrails of the victims. To this office were appointed the Aruspices. The various etymologies of this word I shall omit for brevity sake (1). They were of much less consideration than the augurs, who were chosen out of the prime nobility. Besides many other observations upon the victim, their principal study was the inspection of the entrails, as the heart, spleen, lungs, and particularly the liver. Sometimes, if they may be credited, the head of the liver, or even the whole liver vanished on a sudden, which was a sign of some great misfortune.

All these religious ceremonies were very ancient. They were come from Chaldea to Greece, from thence to the Heturians, of whom they were borrowed by the Latines. In process of time, the senate ordered six young Roman noblemen to be sent every year to Heturia for perfect instruction in these matters. Onuph. de civ. R. c. 17. L. 1. de Divin. n. 92.

In the course of the Roman history we shall find that the most important affairs were always decided according to the auspices and auguries, in which were introduced a thousand frauds and impostures, especi-

(1) The Aruspices were so called, *ab aris aspiciendis*, from looking upon the altars; and *ab extis inspiciendis*, from inspecting the entrails, they were named Extispices.

ally in the latter times of the Republic. Cicero, who was dignified with the title of Augur, and perfectly knew the whole art practised by himself and colleagues, is a good precedent for our opinion in this case. It is pleasant to see, in his second book of Divination, with what philosophical liberty he ridicules the profession, and how he demonstrates by proofs, some more convincing than others, the uselessness, falsity, contradictions, and impossibility of the art. In that book he relates Cato's saying, that he could not imagine how one Aruspex could look another in the face without laughing †. However, Cicero, notwithstanding his great contempt of these superstitions, blames the generals and magistrate, that on important occasions had neglected them, and maintains that this practice, though, according to him, full of the highest abuses, ought to be regarded on account of religion and the prejudices of the people. Thus the wisest of the heathens held the truth captive, and by a wrong policy or base fear, bred in the minds of the populace superstitions as ridiculous as profane, of which they perceived the falshood and vanity.

The custom of consulting the auspices before any office was entered upon, was punctually observed not only under the kings, but also after their expulsion, in the election of consuls and other magistrates their substitutes. Of this Romulus had given an example.

Established on the throne by a voluntary and unanimous consent, he contrived to give his Republic a regular form by wise institutions, the sole means of uniting and incorporating a people. But he perceived the laws would be regarded by men so unpolished no farther than the legislator could awe them with the pomp and splendor of sovereign majesty. Among other marks of distinction to render his person more sacred, he appointed twelve Lictors or sergeants to walk before him. Their office was to attend the kings (and afterwards the chief magistrates) to

† *Vetus illud Catonis admodum scitum est, qui mirari se aiebat quod non rideret aruspex, aruspice cum vidisset. De Divin. lib. 2, n. 51.*

make way for them, to execute criminals, &c. The number of Lictors was borrowed, it is thought, from Hetruria. They carried the Fasces or bundles of rods with axes, which were both the symbol of power and the instruments of the punishments inflicted on offenders.

Dionys.
l. 2. p. 82.
Plut. p. 25.

He first divided the people into three bodies, placing over each body a head distinguished by his merit: then he subdivided each of these into ten others, the command of which he gave to as many captains of noted bravery. The three greater bodies he called Tribes, and the thirty lesser Curiaë or wards. A priest, stiled Curio (1), was charged with the sacrifices in each ward. He divided also the lands into thirty equal portions, and gave one to each Curia, reserving, however, what was necessary as well for the maintenance of the temples as for the sacrifices; and a certain portion for a public fund.

From this first division, in which an exact equality was observed, Romulus proceeded to another, wherein his intent was to settle the ranks, honours, and offices of his subjects. The persons noted for their birth, merit, or riches, (such as they were in those days) and who were fathers of children, were distinguished from those who had neither birth nor fortune. To these last he gave the name of Plebeians. The others formed a separate body, which was the original of the Roman nobility.

After this he established a public council to share with him the cares of the government, and maturely examine the affairs of the state. His method was this. He began with nominating one of the nobility, whom he judged most capable of preserving in his room, the peace and safety of the city, whenever he should be obliged to march his army out of the confines of Rome ‡. Then each tribe chose also three nobles eminent for their wisdom. The thirty Curiaë had the

(1) Hence doubtless the word Curate.

‡ He was called Præfectus urbis, the præfect or governor of the city.

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same privilege, and each electing three nobles, completed the number of ninety : which made a hundred in all, inclusive of the president chosen by Romulus. This council was called the Senate, because of the age or wisdom of the members ; and the Senators for the same reason were stiled Patres, (Fathers :) The epithet *Conscripti* was afterwards added on account of the Senators of the new creation. This additional title, which was at first peculiar to these last, became by degrees common to all the Senators, who were called *Patres Conscripti*.

Romulus believed it necessary to have a band of young men, who might be always under arms, as well for a guard to his person, as for the urgent occasions of the state. He raised therefore three hundred strong and robust youths out of the most illustrious families, the choice of whom he left to the *Curiaë*, as he had done with regard to the Senators. Each *Curia* chose ten. He was ever after attended by this guard, which he called *Celeres*, light and active, as being their duty to be always ready to march at the first signal. Their commander was a man of great merit, that had under him three officers, from whom the subalterns received orders. They fought on horseback or on foot as occasion required, and signalized themselves in the army by their courage. This was the original of the Roman Knights.

Thus Romulus formed the Senate, chose the Knights, and distinguished the People from both. All the citizens not included in the Senatorian or Equestrian Order, were called *Plebs*, People. The descendants of the hundred Fathers or Senators, of whom Romulus composed the Senate, or of those added by the kings his successors, were called *Patricians*. All who were not descended of these Senators, were termed *Plebeians*. In process of time, a *Plebeian* might, by the choice of the Censor, become Senator, when master of the estate appointed by the laws for one of that body : but he ceased not to be *Plebeian*, because not sprung from these ancient Senators.

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21

It must however be observed, it was long after, in Plin. l. 33. c. 2. the time of the Gracchi, or rather consulship of Cicero, that the Roman knights were a distinct order. Antiently there were, properly speaking, but two orders, the Senate and People, and two estates, the Patricians and Plebeians.

In the next place, Romulus fixed the ranks and honours suitable to each order. He assumed to himself the superintendency of all holy things, and made himself head of religion. He took the title of Guardian of the laws and customs of the country, reserving to himself the cognizance of the weightier causes in criminal matters, and referring those of less moment to the Senate, not without his inspection, however, that every thing should be regularly done. He claimed also the power of assembling the Senate and People when he should think proper: to give his vote first, to conclude by a majority of voices, and to execute what should be thus determined. In a word, he ascribed to himself the command of the armies, with absolute authority in time of war as Generalissimo.

He granted the Patricians alone, exclusive of the Plebeians, the honour of priesthood; the care of the sacrifices, auguries, and all holy things; the administration of justice and all offices as well civil as military. He made the Senate supreme judge in all cases referred to their tribunal by the king, without allowing any appeal from their decisions by a majority.

He left to the People the power of creating magistrates, making laws, and determining upon war or peace when required by the king: but this power was limited, and the resolutions of the People were not valid without the Senate's approbation. To prevent the disorders of tumultuous assemblies, all the People did not vote at once: but the Curiae were convened one after another, and the sense of the major part was referred to the Senate.

Such was the fundamental constitution of this state, neither wholly monarchical nor entirely republican. The King, the Senate, and the People, were in a

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mutual dependence, and from thence resulted a balance of power, whereby the royal prerogative was restrained, and the authority of the Senate and liberty of the People secured.

Romulus, to obviate the jealousy, which a difference of condition might create in the two orders of the state, endeavoured to bind them to each other by reciprocal obligations, and so unite them, that in doing honour to the nobles, he should not render the people contemptible. To this end, he established the right of patronage, and regulated the mutual duties and services of Patrons and Clients. The Patrons were obliged to explain the laws to their Clients, to take care of their affairs wheresoever they were, and assist them with their interest as a father would his own children. It was their duty to improve their Clients money, to draw up their contracts, and prevent them from being wronged. In all law-suits it was the Patron's business to support and defend his Clients against their accusers. In a word, they were bound to procure them all the tranquillity necessary for their public or private affairs, that they might not be interrupted in their labours; and the greatest men in the state took a pleasure, and deemed it an honour, to perform these services for their fellow-citizens †. The Clients, on their part, were obliged to portion the daughters of their Patron, if the father was not able to do it: to ransom him and his children, if taken by the enemy: to pay the expence of his law-suits when cast, or the fines he should be condemned in, all at their own charge without usury or interest: to bear his expence in the discharge of his posts and offices with the same affection as if they were of his family. Besides those obligations peculiar to the Patrons on one side, and to the Clients on the other, there were some common to both. The Patron or Client could not accuse or bear witness or

† Clarissimi viri nostræ civitatis, temporibus optimis, hoc sibi amplissimum pulcherrimumque ducebant, ab hospitibus clientibusque suis---injurias propulsare, eorumque fortunas defendere. Cic. Divinat. in Verr. n. 66.

vote against one another, or take part with their mutual enemies. The offender in any of these points was punished very severely.

This right was extended with the Roman power. When the empire was enlarged by conquests, the colonies, the confederate or conquered cities, chose also a Roman for their Patron. And very often the Senate referred the differences of cities and nations to their protectors, whose sentence they afterwards confirmed.

It is easy to conceive how proper so wise a regulation was to bind the lowest to the highest by mutual dependencies, to preserve union among all distinctions, and prevent the fatal effects of divisions unavoidable in Republics, and usually ending in murder and blood: whereas in Rome for six hundred years we shall see dissensions, though ever so violent, always amicably terminated. This custom, constantly observed till even long after the time of the Republic, demonstrates an admirable foresight and ripeness of judgment in a prince so young as Romulus then was.

Order being thus established, he turned his thoughts to enlarge and people his new city. In the first place, he obliged his subjects to bring up all their sons and eldest daughters, forbidding them to expose any of the younger till full three years old, unless the child was deformed, in which case he allowed the parents to expose son or daughter, after showing them to five neighbours for their opinion. Something like this had been established by Lycurgus, but Romulus's law was not so repugnant to wisdom and humanity. Romulus added an important restriction, namely, not to expose the child under three years: for in that time a child's weak constitution, often derived from the mother, may be rectified: and besides it is usual for parents, in that interval, to grow fond of their children, and therefore they will be more averse to expose them. Both Lycurgus and Romulus, by this institution, violated the law of nature, which forbids murder, and gives not parents a power of life and death

Dionys.
l. 2. p. 88.
---99.
Liv. l. 1.
c. 8.

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over their children. The barbarous custom of exposing children was, however, universally practised among the Heathens.

A second means used by Romulus to people Rome, was to open an asylum or place of refuge for all states and conditions that would come there and settle. He hoped, by this artifice, to augment the Roman power, and lessen that of his neighbours. And indeed, multitudes from the neighbouring cities flocked thither, to be protected either from the severity of their masters, or creditors, or from the pursuits of justice, which the credit of their adversaries made them fear; or purely out of novelty and change, or because they knew of no retreat more secure or convenient; especially as Romulus gave them all a most obliging and civil reception. Thus from a receptacle of shepherds and adventurers sprung the conquerors of the world.

Romulus used a third expedient, that the Greeks should not have neglected; which in time became the strongest support of the Roman power, and contributed the most to the advancement of the empire. He made war but to conquer men, well knowing, when his armies should be able to seize them, he should not want lands. To this end, his usual method was to spare the youth of the conquered places, not make them slaves, nor leave the lands of his conquests uncultivated. On the contrary, he sent Romans to inhabit these countries, and gave them part of the soil for their use. He caused them to associate with the vanquished nations, who by that means soon acquired the Roman spirit, and became so many new colonies, which were sometimes favoured by the prince with the freedom of Rome. By so prudent a conduct, Romulus made his enemies his first citizens; and changed in a very short time a small colony into a great and numerous people. When he built Rome, he had at most but three thousand foot, and three hundred horse: and when he disappeared in the sight of his people, the foot were increased to forty-six thousand,

thousand, and the horse to above a thousand. The kings his successors, and the magistrates after them, took the same measures for the government of the Republic, and only made additions to Romulus's plan. Hence that prodigious increase which rendered the Romans the most numerous people in the world.

What has been hitherto said, may be considered as the body or external part of the government. Romulus added other regulations, which were as the soul, and demonstrate how admirable were the prudence and wisdom of that prince. He was persuaded that the welfare of Republics depended upon those great principles, which most politicians inculcate, but very few know how to practise. He said, before all things the Gods were to be rendered propitious, because from them alone the happy success of affairs, both public and private, is to be expected. The people should be inspired with a zeal for justice, and a love of temperance; virtues which preserve union among men by preventing them from injuring one another, and teach them not to place their happiness in infamous pleasures, but in honour and virtue. Finally, martial courage and bravery ought to be a protection to all other virtues, and a defence against foreign violence. But he knew at the same time (the Historian observes) that the happy conjunction of all these advantages is not the effect of chance, or the bare gift of nature; and that religion, justice, temperance, valour, are not seen to arise in the heart without the assistance of wise laws, and the constant practice of what they prescribe.

Romulus employed all his care in the execution of this excellent plan, and began with the worship of the Gods. He built them temples, erected them altars, raised them statues, set up their images adorned with ensigns of their power, and emblems of their benefactions. He instituted particular festivals in honour of each Deity, with different sacrifices and ceremonies: he established public solemnities, at which
all

all the people, ceasing from work, were obliged to be present. He followed in many things the Grecian customs, but carefully purged them from those infamous indecencies introduced by fabulous tradition. He banished all sumptuousness in the sacrifices and feasts offered on certain occasions to the Gods. Dionysius Halicarnassensis admires how this antient simplicity had been preserved to his time, of which he was himself frequently witness, having seen the barley-meal, the holy cakes, the first-fruits, and other things of the like nature, all very cheap, served upon old wooden tables, in earthen dishes and wicker baskets; and libations made, not in vessels of gold or silver, but in plain urns and bowls of baked earth. "Can we think, says Cicero, that these earthen and potters vessels were less agreeable to the immortal Gods in their worship, than those of gold and silver, which are now so much esteemed?*"

The regulations in respect to the manners of private persons are no less remarkable. Dionysius Halicarnassensis observes, that Romulus made but one law about marriages, which appears very simple, and yet prevented all abuses, and kept the women within the bounds of virtue and modesty. It was expressed in these words: "Let every wife, who by the holy laws of marriage falls into the power of a husband, enter with him into a community of goods and sacrifices †". Hence it seems they become in effect but one person, without any separate interests, and consequently ought mutually to love and support one another. The wife at her husband's death inherited his goods, as a daughter does her father's. If he

* Minusne gratas Diis immortalibus capedines ac fistiles urnas fuisse, quam delicatas (or deliicas) istorum pateras arbitramini? 1 Parad.

† Uxor farreatione viro juncta, in sacra & bona ejus venito. There were three ways of marrying: Confarreatione, from the offering among other things a wheat-loaf. Coemptione, by mutual sale, when the parties bound themselves to one another by giving and taking a piece of money. Usus, by use, when with the consent of friends the woman had lived with the man a whole year. The two first only were called matres-familias.

died without children and intestate, all the inheritance belonged to her. If he left any children, she divided the effects with them.

A wife offending against her husband, had no other judge but the offended husband himself, who might punish her as he pleased. When she was accused of breach of conjugal faith, or convicted of drinking wine, which wives were absolutely forbid by the law; then the husband convened her nearest relations, and with them judged the offence. Romulus considered these two crimes as the most heinous they could be capable of, persuaded that if adultery is the violation of the most sacred bond of society, drunkenness naturally leads to adultery. The wisdom of this law may be judged of by its good effects upon the wives for many ages, wherein there was neither complaint of adultery, nor any instance of divorce. The first instance seen in Rome was some years after the first Punic war. Sp. Carvilius divorced his wife, upon his oath before the Censors that he put her away only for barrenness. Notwithstanding the plausibleness of this motive, he drew upon himself for the residue of his life the indignation of all Rome.

Romulus gave fathers an absolute power over their children, without any limitation of time, and which remained in force at whatever age or dignity they had attained. By virtue of this power fathers could imprison, scourge, fetter, put to labour, sell, and even punish their children with death*. History affords several instances, but which always raise indignation, and to which we cannot be reconciled. A master, after once selling, had no more power over his slave: A son † was not freed from a father's sovereign authority, till sold three times. We shall see presently the severity of this law mitigated by Numa's ordinance, that when a father had permitted his son to marry, his power to sell him should cease. And in-

*Temetum
mulier ne
bibito.*

* In liberos suprema patrum auctoritas esto: venundare, occidere liceto, or licito.

† Si pater filium ter venunduit, filius à patre liber esto.

deed,

In vit.
Num.
P. 71.

deed, as Plutarch observes, it was very hard and unjust, that a woman who had espoused a free-man, should after that find herself, by the caprice of her father-in-law, married to a slave.

This sovereign authority in husbands and fathers, tempered no doubt by the sentiments of goodness and lenity which nature failed not to inspire, greatly contributed to keep all in order and a just subordination.

The king, intent upon all the parts of government, and knowing the difficulty of managing the people, perceived that the use of laborious exercises, which lead to virtue, was properer than precepts, for regulating their manners, and teaching them to prefer justice to interest, to esteem virtue above all, and to inure to toil. To this end, he left to slaves and foreigners the mechanical arts, which often serve to indulge the passions, excite carnal desires, enervate the body, and darken the mind. The Romans long thought these arts and occupations beneath them, nor would any citizen apply himself to them. He allowed the freemen but two professions, war and agriculture. These two employments he parted not, but joined them together. The first Romans were all husbandmen, and the husbandmen were all soldiers. Now husbandmen, whose possessions are in lands, are tied to the state by stronger bonds than artificers, who in public dangers can easily remove. In time of peace he used them all to labour in the country, except on the days they were obliged to go to market. Then he permitted them to come to town for their affairs, both to sell and to buy, having ordered the market to be kept every ninth day. During war, he enjoined all to take arms, and without distinction to share the hardships and profits. Pursuant to this law, he divided among them the lands, slaves, and money taken from the enemy. By so equitable a conduct he found them always ready to meditate new conquests.

This in general, for I have omitted many particulars, is what Dionysius Halicarnassensis relates of the order established by Romulus in the Commonwealth. Herein appear the seeds and principles of almost every thing that conduced afterwards to the grandeur of Rome, and rendered her government so admirable.

I should now proceed to the actions of Romulus : but I shall first insert one observation, which will conduce to the understanding of the Roman history in the following ages.

What I have said from Dionysius Halicarnassensis, Dionys.
l. 2. p. 98. that Romulus allowed the freemen but two professions, war and agriculture, and forbade them the exercise of trades and mechanical arts, leaving such mean and ignoble employments to slaves and foreigners, seems to me liable to some objection.

Plutarch, in the life of Numa, says, as will be seen presently, that he distributed the meaner citizens according to their several trades, as goldsmiths, carpenters, dyers, and the like. He found them therefore already settled in Rome ; and the thing could hardly be otherwise in a people composed of a great number of adventurers, who could not look upon these employments as beneath them. So what Dionysius Halicarnassensis seems to say of all the citizens in general, must be applied only to the greatest part, who certainly were employed in agriculture : but many continued at Rome to exercise the several trades necessary to the occasions of life.

How else could the city be filled with inhabitants ? There would then have been at Rome only rich citizens, or slaves and foreigners : an absurdity in itself shocking and contradicted by all history, which informs us that the meaner people were precisely those that lived in the city. To this may be added, that in the establishment of the centuries by Servius Tullius, there is one appointed for such citizens as possessed not in effects the value of twelve thousand five hundred asses. What could such poor citizens do, and how could they subsist without some trade ? Livy observes,

observes *, that according to some authors, on urgent occasions were lifted tradesmen and shopkeepers, people (says he) very unfit for war. It is evident then, both by these and a thousand other facts which might be alledged, that there were Roman citizens of mechanical professions.

It is true, agriculture was held in great honour by the antient Romans : and those that bore arms were usually taken from the plough : for all the citizens of any substance possessed landed estates. Now the Republic committed the defence of the safety of the state but to those who were concerned in it by the motive also of defending their own property.

According to this system the tradesmen were the most contemptible part of all the people ; and their being of little account, it is plain, gave occasion to Dionysius Halicarnassensis, ever inclined to extol and magnify the Romans, to erase the tradesmen entirely out of the list of the citizens.

Let us then distinguish the people into citizens living in the country, and citizens dwelling in the city.

I. Those of the country cultivated either their own or the lands of the public and of private persons, which they hired at a certain rent. The lands acquired by new conquests from the neighbouring nations, were either sold for the benefit of the public treasury, or distributed to poor citizens, who paid a small acknowledgment to the state. I have already observed, that these inhabitants of the country came to town on market-days, that is, every ninth day, as well for their private affairs, as to be present at the assemblies. These were the most noble part of the people to the end of the Republic. The country tribes have always been considered as more honourable than those of the city. They were the chief strength of the state, furnished soldiers, filled the armies, and ever had more exalted and noble sentiments than the multitude which dwelt in the city.

* *Opificum quoque vulgus & sellularii, minime militiæ idoneum genus, exciti dicuntur.* Liv. l. 8. c. 20.

II. The city inhabitants were variously employed, some in a more, some in a less honourable way. The several occupations are almost all mentioned in Cicero's fourth oration against Catiline. Num. 15.
& 16.

1. The cashiers of the treasury: Tribuni Ærarii. Through their hands passed the money for payment of the army, which they received from the Questor, and distributed to the soldiers.

2. Public notaries: Scribæ. Most of the magistrates, as the Questors, Ediles, Pretors, had always some of these about them, to set down the public acts which were deposited in their hands. These two employments were more honourable than the following.

3. Merchants, traders. There were two sorts; by wholesale, and by retale. Cicero puts a great difference between them. "As for merchandise, (says he) that which deals by retale, and is of no great extent, is mean. But that which turns upon large dealings, and bringing from all parts plenty of things useful in life, supplies every man with what he wants, is not to be found fault with, when carried on without fraud and deceit. Nay, it has nothing but what is honourable and praise-worthy, provided the trader is not insatiable, but content with a fair and reasonable profit."

Traffic, even by sea, seems to have been established at Rome under their kings, since the first year after their expulsion the Romans made a treaty with the Carthaginians (mentioned in its place) by which it Polyb. l. 3.
P. 176. appears the commerce of the Romans reached as far as Africa.

4. Bankers, whether public, Mensarii; or private, Argentarii.

5. Tradesmen and artificers; of whom I have spoken.

6. Freedmen: Liberti.

7. The lower officers of the magistrates: Accensi, Interpretes, Præcones, Lictores, Viatores. (1) They were generally freedmen.

In

(1) Accensi, from accio, to send for. They attended on the magistrates, and at the bench of justice, to call witnesses, signify the adjournment

THE REIGN OF ROMULUS.

In the course of the history it will be seen, that the meaner people of Rome exercised the wisest heads of the Republic, were chiefly concerned in the seditions, and in later times hiring themselves to wicked and daring citizens, first corrupted the state, and then contributed not a little to its subversion.

I have not mentioned the Roman knights, who in time will make a separate and very considerable body, and of whom one of the chief employments will be to collect the public money, under the name of Publicani. I shall have occasion to speak of them. I return to Romulus.

S E C T. II.

Rape of the daughters of the Sabines and other neighbouring nations. Romulus defeats the Cœninenſes, and brings off opima ſpolia. He ſubdues alſo the Antemnates and the Crustuminians. Sharp war with the Sabines ended by a treaty of peace. Tatius and Romulus reign together. Death of Tatius. Romulus defeats the Fidenates, the Camerini, and the Veientes. Death of Romulus. He is honoured as a God.

Liv. l. 1.
c. 9, 13.
Dionys. p.
99—111.
Plut. p. 25
—31.

ROME, in a short space, was greatly increased, and become a match for her most powerful neighbours. But as the number of the women, that had settled there, bore no proportion to that of the men, her greatness could not last long. Rome was

jourment of the court, and gave notice every three hours what it was o'clock.

Præcones, from præcio. They proclaimed things in the streets, assisted at public sales, to declare how much every one bids, and the like.

Lictores, from ligo, to bind.

Viatores, were a sort of Lictors, that went before the officers of less dignity, as the Tribunes, &c. As they were used in antient times to call the senators out of the country, Cicero derives their name from thence; as if they were to ply about the roads in search of the rural Fathers.

These and other inferior officers had the common name of Apparitores, from appareo, because they always stood ready to execute their master's orders.

fur-

furrounded with many strong and warlike nations, with whom Romulus had thoughts to make matrimonial alliances, which have always been deemed the firmest bonds of amity. He much doubted the reception of his proposal by these nations, of whom not one was a friend to Rome. However, to avoid all self-reproaches, he thought proper first to use gentle methods. He sent therefore, by the advice of the senate, ambassadors to these nations to demand their daughters in marriage for his subjects. He represented to them, "Cities, like other human things, had mean beginnings: but in time those that were supported by the courage of their inhabitants, and aided by the divine protection, acquired great reputation and power. It was manifest the Gods had presided at the establishment of the Romans: nor was it less evident, that courage would not be wanting. He desired them to favour his request, and not disdain, since they were all of the same nature, to join in alliance with their fellow-creatures."*

What Romulus had foreseen came to pass. His proposal was no where received: whether through contempt for a confused band of adventurers of a base and dishonourable origin, or rather because these nations saw with uneasiness and jealousy a power rising in the midst of them, which begun already to give them umbrage, and might become formidable to their posterities. They added insult to their refusal, asking the ambassadors, "Why their master had not opened also an Asylum for women, which would have produced suitable matches, and prevented mutual reproaches."

Romulus was highly exasperated by this affront: but however he concealed his resentment. He gave out that he intended to celebrate a festival in honour

* *Urbes quoque, ut cætera, ex infimo nasci: deinde, quas sua virtus ac Dii juvent, magnas opes sibi magnumque nomen facere. Satis scire, origini Romanæ & Deos affuisse, & non defuturam virtutem. Proinde ne gravarentur homines cum hominibus sanguinem & genus miscere. Liv.*

of Neptunus Equeſtor (1), otherwiſe called Confus †, and invited the neighbouring cities to the ceremony, which was accompanied with all the magnificence thoſe times would admit. Curioſity, and a deſire to ſee the new city, drew thither an extraordinary number of ſpectators. The Cœninenſes, Cruſtuminians, and Antemnates, as neareſt Rome, came firſt. The Sabines of Cures followed in multitudes with their wives and children. They were received in general with all poſſible marks of kindneſs and friendſhip. Every citizen had his gueſt, and treated him the beſt he could. In viewing the buildings both public and private, and the walls of the city, they could hardly conceive it poſſible, that ſuch progreſs ſhould be made in ſo ſhort a time. When the games were begun, and the minds as well as eyes of the ſpectators were wholly employed, the Roman youth, at a ſignal agreed on, ſpread themſelves on all ſides, and carried off the daughters of the ſtrangers without choice and diſtinction. One among the reſt of ſingular beauty attracting all eyes, thoſe that ſeized her, cried out, Thalaffio, Thalaffio, that is, for Thalaffius, a young Roman of one of the beſt families in Rome; and his name, repeated then ſeveral times, gave riſe to a cuſtom obſerved afterwards at all weddings of ſinging (Thalaffio) with frequent repetitions (2).

The fathers of the virgins thus taken away by force, full of indignation and threats, depart from the city, invoking the Gods avengers of the ſacred laws of hoſpitality, eſpecially Neptune, whoſe feſtival was made ſubſervient to ſo black and heinous a treachery. The grief and reſentment of the virgins were not leſs violent and juſt. Romulus endeavoured to comfort them, by repreſenting, “ He intended

(1) So called from creating the firſt horſe, which came out of the ground at the ſtroke of his trident.

† Romulus had ſome time before cauſed a report to be ſpread, that he had found a ſubterraneous altar of a certain God named Confus, or the God of counſels. PLUT. in vit. Rom. p. 25.

(2) As the Greeks did Hymenæus.

them no violence; they could in reason blame only their fathers, who had scornfully and cruelly rejected his proposals. A transient injury often occasioned a more tender and durable friendship. He intreated them to be pacified, and surrender their hearts to those, whom fortune had put in possession of their persons *". The young Romans on their part pleading passion and love in excuse for what they had done, strove to gain them by caresses and all kinds of good treatment.

The number of these virgins amounted to almost seven hundred. This rape is believed to happen in the fourth year of Romulus. To remove all signs of rape and violence, Romulus ordered the same ceremonies to be observed at these marriages, as were used in the places where the virgins were born, but especially the ceremony for community of fire and water †, which subsisted at Rome many ages (1).

A. M.
3256.
Ant. C.
784.
An. R. 4.

The brides, gained by the kind usage and complaisance of their husbands, began to be appeased and reconciled to their change of condition. But the resentment of their fathers daily increased. They breathed nothing but war and revenge. Incensed and afflicted, they went from city to city, with tears in their eyes, to implore the assistance of their neighbours.

The Cæninenses thought this assistance too slow, and whilst the rest in their opinion were losing time in deliberation, Acron their king erected the first standard against the Romans, and took the field with his forces alone to ravage their territories. Romulus went out to meet him, and showed him, that rage

* *Patrum id superbia factum, qui connubium finitimis negassent. Mollirent modo iras; & quibus fors corpora dedissent, darent animos. Sæpe ex injuria postmodum gratiam ortam.*—

† In all treaties and marriages a community of fire and water was entered into, as a mark of perfect union. Hence to exclude any one from the public society, he was forbid fire and water.

(1) Among other ceremonies, the bride upon her entrance into the bridegroom's house, was presented by him with two vessels, one of fire, the other of water, as a communication of goods. PLUT. in Rom.

without strength is a feeble support. He vigorously attacked the Cæninenses, slew their king with his own hand, routed his army, and without opposition took the city where he reigned. Capable of greater actions, and as well qualified to improve them, he returned at the head of his army, clothed in a purple robe, and crowned with laurel, carrying in his hand a trophy made with the arms of Acron. The troops ranged in order of battle, sung hymns in honour of the Gods, and with unpolished verse and martial songs celebrated the conqueror's praises. He marched in this manner to Rome, where he was received with all the greatest demonstrations of admiration and joy. This pomp was the origin and model of the triumphs, which were afterwards celebrated with so much magnificence. To crown so noble a day, and render it immortal, Romulus marked out on the Capitol-hill a place for a temple, dedicated to Jupiter, with the title of Feretrius*, for a depository of the spoils his descendants should take from a king or a general of the enemies slain with their own hand.

Such was the original of the temple of Jupiter Feretrius. Dionysius Halicarnassensis observes, that in his time were still seen the remains of this antient temple, small, narrow, without walls, and in its greatest length not exceeding fifteen foot.

The spoils of king Acron, carried to this temple, were the first opime spoils, so called from the Latin word *opimus*, a derivative of *ops*, signifying abundance, to denote these to be the most honourable of all spoils. "The Gods (says Livy) †, confirmed Romulus's prediction, that in time such spoils should be brought thither, but would not suffer that honour to be lessened by too great a number of sharers. Only

* Jupiter was thus named from the Latin word Feretrum, which Livy uses here to signify the trophy carried by Romulus on this glorious occasion.

† Ita deinde Diis visum, nec irritam conditoris templi vocem esse, qua laturus eò spolia potteros nuncupavit; nec multitudine compotum, ejus doni vulgari laudem. Bina postea inter tot annos, tot bella, opima parta sunt spolia; adeo rara ejus fortuna decoris fuit. LIV. l. i. c. 10.

two Romans, after Romulus, in the space of so many years, and in the course of so many wars, acquired this glorious distinction : namely, A. Cornelius Cossus, after killing Lars Tolumnius king of the Veientes in the year of Rome 318, and M. Claudius Marcellus, who in the year 530 slew Britomarus king of the Gauls.

In the mean time, an incursion was made on the territories of Rome by the Antemnates. The Romans taking the field, quickly repulse the enemy, and pursue them to their city, which is taken without much opposition. The Crustuminians, half-vanquished by the double defeat of their allies, make no farther resistance.

Romulus, who, like a good politician, thought only of gaining the heart of the neighbouring nations, used the cities he had taken with clemency and lenity. He only proposed to them to receive Roman colonies, and cause such of their inhabitants as were willing to come and settle at Rome. The offer was gladly accepted. The people of Rome were increased with above three thousand new citizens. They were soon distributed in the Tribes and Curiae, so that the Roman foot amounted now to six thousand.

The last as well as fiercest assault the Romans had to sustain, was from the Sabines (1). The Sabines, besides having a greater number of forces, showed much more prudence and bravery than the other nations, who yielding to passion, had inconsiderately, notwithstanding their weakness, acted by themselves, and rushed into an important war without precautions and preparations. Here every thing was concerted and prepared beforehand. Tatius, head and king of the Sabines of Cures, before he appeared in the field, had taken all proper measures to accomplish his designs. To these he added also stratagem and fraud. Sp. Tarpeius commanded in the citadel of Rome, situate on the hill, afterwards called Capito-

(1) The Sabines inhabited the country between the Tyber, the Tiverrone, and the Appennines; and were near neighbours to Rome.

linus. His daughter going out to draw water for a sacrifice, Tatius bribed her with money to open a postern-gate to his troops. When the soldiers were entered, they crushed her to death with their bucklers, whether to appear to have taken the citadel by force and not by fraud, or to make her an example to traitors. The thing is told in a different manner, but with the air of a fiction. As the Sabines had on their left hand bracelets and rings of great beauty and value, it is said the young woman desired, without speaking more distinctly, what they wore on their left arms, and that the soldiers threw their bucklers upon her, pretending thus to perform their promise. This particular is also related another way : but these various accounts of a dark and inconsiderable story ought not to interrupt us.

Tarpeia being buried on the hill, gave it the name of Tarpeius, which it retained till the building of the Capitol, and even then lost it not so entirely, but that a steep part, from whence state criminals were thrown down, was called by the hated name of the Tarpeian Rock.

In whatever manner Tarpeia died, the Sabines became masters of the citadel. On the morrow, the Romans marching to attack it, the Sabines came down, and all prepared for battle. The leaders were Romulus and Tatius. At the head of the two armies marched two brave officers ; Mettius Curtius on the side of the Sabines, and on the side of the Romans Hostus Hostilius. Hostilius sustained some time by his courage and bravery the attacks of the enemy : but falling dead in the field, his troops were put to flight, and pursued to a place called by Livy the old gate of Palatium. Romulus, who had himself been carried away by the flight of his men, beholding with extreme grief this disorder, had recourse to Jupiter, and lifting up his hands to heaven, vowed to build him in that very place a temple by the name of Jupiter Stator *, to serve as a monument to

* This name is derived from the Latin word *sistere*, signifying to stop.
posterity

posterity that Rome was saved by his protection. Then, inwardly persuaded, or at least willing to have it believed, that his prayer was heard: "Romans," (says he to the soldiers) "the most gracious and great Jupiter commands you to stand and return to the fight." That moment, as if a voice had sounded from heaven, they stooped short. Curtius vigorously pursued them, crying out, "We have vanquished the treacherous hosts, the cowardly enemies. They now perceive the difference between ravishing virgins, and fighting with men." As he was thus speaking, Romulus with a chosen troop of youths fiercely marches against him, attacks him, and puts him to flight. The Roman army, encouraged by their king's example, rush upon the Sabines, and put their army to rout. Curtius, getting out of a marsh where his horse had carried him, returned to the head of his troops, and renewed the fight. But still the Romans had the advantage.

Then, by the advice of Hersilia (1), the Sabine women, whose rape had occasioned the war, with dishevelled hair and rent clothes, forced by their unhappy situation to forget the natural fearfulness of their sex, had the courage to advance among the flying darts. In the utmost distraction, holding their children in their arms, and uttering mournful cries, they threw themselves into the midst of the soldiers, equally exasperated against one another, to part and reconcile them. Turning one while to their fathers, another while to their husbands; "You are all united" (say they) "by the sacred names of sons-in-law and fathers-in-law: pollute not yourselves with blood that cannot be shed without guilt. Brand not your wretched children, sons of the one, and grandsons of the other, with the dishonourable stain of being descended from a race of parricides. If the alli-

(1) Hersilia, among all the daughters of the Sabines that were seized by the Romans, was the only married woman. She was mistaken for a virgin, or, it is said, would not leave her only daughter. Some will have her to be mother of Tullus Hostilius, third king of Rome. Others say she became wife of Romulus.

THE REIGN OF ROMULUS.

“ance contracted between you by our marriages be
 “so grievous to you, turn your rage against us, who
 “are the cause of this fatal war, and of the unfor-
 “tunate discord which arms you against one another.
 “It will be better to perish by your hands, than to
 “survive you either widows or orphans *.”

All were moved with so pathetic a speech, and laid down their arms. A profound and general silence ensued. The leaders on both sides advance to commence a treaty. A truce is immediately agreed on. Presently after, a treaty of peace and alliance between the two nations is confirmed on these terms: Romulus and Tatius should be kings of the Romans with equal power, and with the same honours: The city should still retain her founder's name, but the people in general should be called Quirites, from Cures the capital of the Sabines, where Tatius resided: All Sabines that pleased might settle at Rome, with liberty to bring with them their Gods and particular customs; and should be incorporated in the Tribes and Curiae. Pursuant to this treaty, Tatius remained at Rome, with three of the most considerable persons of his nation. The numerous train of relations, friends, clients, which they drew after them, brought into the city as many strangers as there were natives. Cicero † justly admires Romulus's profound wisdom in his treaty with the Sabines, and questions not but this treaty was the fountain, principle, and foundation of all the Roman power and grandeur, by the good custom established afterwards by the example of Romulus, and inviolably observed at all times, of

* Hinc patres, hinc viros orantes, ne se sanguine nefando focii generique respergerent: ne parricidio macularent partus suos, nepotum illi, liberum hi progeniem. Si affinitatis inter vos, si connubii piget, in nos vertite iras: nos causa belli, nos vulnere ac cædium viris ac parentibus sumus. Melius peribimus, quam sine alteris vestrum viduæ aut orbæ vivemus. Liv. l. 1. c. 13.

† Illud sine ulla dubitatione maximè nostrum fundavit imperium, & populi R. nomen auxit, quod princeps ille creator hujus urbis Romulus fœdere Sabino docuit, etiam hostibus recipiendis augeri hanc civitatem oportere. Cujus auctoritate & exemplo nunquam est intermissa à majoribus nostris largitio & communicatio civitatis. Cic. in Orat. pro Corn. Balbo, n. 31.

admitting among the citizens the vanquished enemies, and granting them the freedom of Rome.

This increase of citizens caused the two kings to think of augmenting the number of Patricians and Senators. The Patrician families were first chosen, and then out of these new families were named one hundred new senators. This election was made by the suffrage of the Curiae, who named a hundred persons to be added to the first hundred, and to take, like the others, the name and title of Patricians.

Romulus and Tatius employed their first cares in enlarging the city. They took in mount Quirinalis and mount Coelius. They made separate houses where they resided, dividing the city between them. Romulus's quarters were on mount Palatine, and mount Coelius, which stands near it. Tatius's were on mount Capitolinus *, which he had first possessed himself of, and mount Quirinalis. The plain at the foot of mount Capitolinus was formerly a wood, which had been grubbed. There remained a large pond, fed by the waters which flow from these two hills. It was filled up with earth, and became what was afterwards called the Roman Forum. They built also several temples to as many Gods.

The two kings reigned in Rome five years in good harmony. During that time they marched together against the Camerini, who had committed some ravages on the Roman territory. These people were vanquished in a battle, their city taken by assault, and for a punishment of their rashness they were deprived of their arms, and dispossessed of the third part of their lands. Some time after, they repeated their ravages, but were quickly punished. They were entirely defeated by the whole Roman army, and their effects shared by the conquerors. The inhabitants of Cameria being permitted to settle at Rome, four thou-

* This hill was called, 1. Mons Saturnius, from Saturn, who had formerly lived there. 2. Mons Tarpeius, from the famous Tarpeia, who was buried there. 3. Mons Capitolinus, because in digging the foundation of Jupiter's temple, a man's head was found. This last name carried it from the other two.

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land came thither. They were distributed in the *Curiaë*, and their city became a Roman colony.

In the sixth year of *Tatius's* reign, *Romulus* was again invested with the whole royal power by the death of his colleague, which happened in this manner. Some of *Tatius's* friends had made incursions upon the territory of *Lavinium*, and carried away a quantity of cattle : nay they had wounded and killed several of those who had opposed their ravages. The *Lavinians* sent to Rome to demand justice for the injury they had suffered. *Romulus* judged it reasonable to deliver up the authors of the injury to the mercy of those who had received it, and to punish the offenders. *Tatius*, gained by his friends, pretended it was not just to deliver up citizens to foreigners their enemies, and required that the complainants should come and plead their cause at Rome, and stand by the sentence of the Romans. This was the first and only dispute between *Romulus* and *Tatius*. Hitherto they had shewn great regard for one another, and seemed to act with one mind.

The ambassadors departed, very angry at not obtaining the satisfaction demanded : and as they were obliged to encamp on the road, because they were overtaken by the night, some *Sabines*, who had followed them, giving way to their unjust resentment, entered their tents whilst they were asleep, plundered them, took away their money, and murdered such as were without defence. The rest, who escaped their fury, being returned to *Lavinium*, put the whole city in commotion. Other ambassadors were sent in conjunction with those of some other cities, to complain of this breach of the law of nations, and to proclaim war against Rome if justice was denied.

Romulus disapproved, as he ought, these proceedings with the ambassadors. He thought a crime committed against the most sacred laws could not be too quickly punished ; and, without loss of time, perceiving *Tatius* seemed to slight a thing of that consequence, ordered the offenders to be seized, and delivered

livered them in irons to the ambassadors to be tried at Lavinium. Tatius took this as an affront to his person and dignity, and, being the more inclined to favour the criminals because one of them was his relation, went and rescued them by force from the ambassadors.

Shortly after, according to some historians, the two kings went to Lavinium, on account of a sacrifice to be offered in person to the Gods of their fathers, the tutelar Gods of the Trojans, for the welfare of the state. The relations and friends of the ambassadors that had been cruelly murdered, fell upon Tatius, and with the same knives that had served to kill the victims, stabbed him at the foot of the altar. The death of Tatius is by historians variously related; but all agree he was killed at Lavinium. It is not conceivable how after such grievous and just causes of discontent given to the Lavinians, he should have the imprudence to put himself into their power. Providence often blinds those it designs to punish. Such was the end of Tatius. He had made war upon Romulus three years, and reigned six with him. His body was carried to Rome, and buried in great pomp.

Romulus, once more become sole master of Rome, Dion. l. 2. P. 115---119. expiated the murder of the ambassadors by banishing the offenders, which was called at Rome forbidding Liv. l. 1. c. 14, 15. Plut. in Rom. water and fire. This was the only punishment he could inflict on them, because they had withdrawn after Tatius's death. He would also revenge that prince's assassination, by causing those concerned in it to be delivered up, and to appear before his tribunal. They appeared indeed; but defended themselves so well, showing they had only taken a just revenge, that they were acquitted and dismissed. This sentence, for the murder of a king, may seem strange; and perhaps gave occasion to the report that Romulus had not appeared so touched with this murder as he should have been, whether because it is rare and difficult for two kings, between whom the authority is divided,

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divided, to live together in sincerity, or because he really thought Tatius deservedly murdered. †

Having thus pacified matters, he went in the head of his troops and besieged Fidenæ, a city considerable for largeness and number of inhabitants, and situated forty stadia (about five miles) from Rome. The Fidenates had plundered some boats of provisions sent to Rome by the Crustumini in a time of famine, and had killed those that opposed their violence. Not content with this outrage, they refused the satisfaction required. Romulus, to punish them, made inroads upon their territory; and as he was returning with a great booty, these people attacked him with a large army. The fight was violent on both sides, and followed with a great slaughter. Romulus however gained the victory, and pursuing the vanquished enemy, took their city. He put the offenders to death, deprived the rest of the third part of their lands, which was divided among the soldiers; and leaving a garrison of three hundred men, made it a Roman colony.

This expedition was hardly ended, when he turned his arms against the Camerini, who, whilst the plague raged at Rome, thinking she would never recover her losses, had killed part of the Roman colony, and expelled the rest. Romulus took their city a second time; punished the authors of the rebellion with death; gave up the city to plunder; seized half their lands besides the third part given to the former colony, and leaving a strong garrison to keep them in awe, led back his army to Rome.

He did not remain long in peace. A fresh war, more dreadful than the former ones, soon forced him to take up arms against the Veientes, the most powerful in riches and strength of the twelve nations that inhabited Hetruria. Veii their capital stood about twelve miles from Rome, on a steep rock, which made it the strongest place in the country. They had

† Eam rem minùs ægrè, quàm dignum erat, tulisse Romulum ferunt; seu ob infidam societatem regni, seu quia haud injuria cæsum credebat.
LIV. c. 14.

attacked Romulus on account of Fidenæ, which was originally of Hetruria, and which they required should be restored to its antient rights. The two armies took the field, and fought several battles. In the last the Veientes being entirely defeated with great loss, sent to sue for peace, which was granted them. Romulus, after depriving them of part of their territory called Septem Pagi, and some salt-pits at the mouth of the Tyber, made an alliance with them for a hundred years. The articles of the treaty were engraven on brazen pillars. The prisoners taken in the fight were released without ransom. Such as chose to settle at Rome, which was the greatest part, were made citizens, and lands on this side the Tyber were divided among them by lot.

These were the transactions at Rome under Romulus, who was always at war, and always victorious, and who in the midst of wars laid the foundation of religion and the laws. None of his actions (says Livy) contradicted the opinion of his divine extraction, or the belief of his being a God after his death. He was indeed in all respects a great man: particularly in the courage he showed to restore his grandfather to the throne; in the design he formed to build a powerful city; and in the wise measures he took to strengthen it, as well by his wars, always successful because always just, as by a glorious peace, the fruit of his wars, which he established upon so firm a foundation, that it lasted forty years after him without any breach.

Romulus, it seems, after his victory over the Veientes, believing he had nothing more to fear from foreign enemies, affected to reign too imperiously over his subjects, and particularly endeavoured to weaken and depress the senate, whose wise counsels and generous freedom were in his opinion an obstruction to the arbitrary power he designed to assume, contrary to the original institution of the royal dignity, to which he had been advanced by the common consent of the people. And this proved his destruction.

The

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The death of Romulus is variously related. The general report was, that during a review of his troops near The Goat's Pond, a terrible storm suddenly arose, with frightful thunders and impetuous whirlwinds, accompanied with so thick a darkness, that the king was snatched from the sight of the assembly, and from that moment Romulus never more appeared on earth. The people, who in their first fright were dispersed on every side, coming a little to themselves on the appearance again of the light, and seeing the royal seat empty, fell into profound sorrow; and though they were well inclined to believe what the senators said, that Romulus was carried up into heaven in the storm, yet full of their loss they remained some time without motion, and buried in silence. But returning to their speech by degrees, some begin, and all together unanimously join, "to salute him as the son of a God and a God himself, as the king and father of Rome, and to intreat him to be propitious for ever to his people, his own race and family, and never to withdraw from them his divine and almighty protection."

The testimony of Proculus Julius, a Patrician of great credit and known probity, very much helped to confirm this belief. During the people's trouble and consternation, he comes into the midst of the assembly, and says: "O Romans, Romulus the founder and father of this city, suddenly descending from heaven appeared to me this day. Struck with a sacred horror and profound veneration, I prayed him to permit me to look upon him. Go (replies he) tell the Romans, it is the pleasure of the Gods that my city become the capital of the world: and therefore let them cultivate to the utmost of their power the art of war: and let them know and hand down to posterity, that no human power shall be able to withstand the Roman arms. Having thus spoken (says Proculus) he vanished away."

It is astonishing how much this speech, which fixed the belief of Romulus's immortality, comforted and encouraged

encouraged all the people and army. It is to be presumed Proculus was well paid for his testimony, as long after Livia amply rewarded Numerius Atticus a senator, who affirmed upon oath that he saw Augustus's soul ascend into heaven. Dion Cass.
l. 56. p.
600.

Here we have a very clear and circumstantial prediction of the future greatness of Rome, and perpetuity of her empire. At a time when the city, surrounded with jealous and powerful enemies, and hardly encompassed with walls, is yet weak and not without fears, Romulus affirms it to be the will of the Gods, that Rome be the head of the universe: *Cœlestes ita velle, ut mea Roma caput orbis terrarum sit.* The same Gods order it to be told from age to age, that no human power should be able to resist the victorious arms of the Romans: *Sciantque, & ita posteris tradant, nullas opes humanas armis Romanis resistere posse.*

This double prediction will hereafter be inculcated with still greater force and energy, by two notable prodigies, whose meaning will be neither dark nor uncertain. A man's head dug up in the foundations of the Capitol, will clearly foretel that this citadel will be the head of the world: *Quæ visa species, haud per ambages, arcem eam imperii caputque rerum fore portendebat.* Liv. l. 1.
c. 55.
Id. ibid. And the obstinate resistance of the god Terminus *, who will steadfastly refuse to quit his place, when all the rest of the Gods consent with a good grace to relinquish theirs, will evidently show that the Roman empire shall have neither term nor bound; according to Jupiter's express promise to Venus.

*His ego nec metas rerum nec tempora pono.
Imperium sine fine dedi.*

Virg. Æn.
l. 1. ver.
282.

To these I fix no bounds of place or time,
But endless empire grant.

It is easily seen, without my observing, that these and many other the like predictions, were made after the event, and are but the effect of the flattery of the

* Livy, in the end of his fifth book, says the Goddesses of youth did the same.

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historians and poets, idolizing the Roman grandeur, as plainly appears in all their writings. They gladly embraced this opportunity of making their court to Augustus, under whom and in whom great part of these prophecies were fulfilled:

Horace, like a good courtier, took care to insert in many places of his poetry the encomium of the Roman empire; but no where in more pompous terms than when he introduces Juno, the professed enemy of the Trojans and their posterity, foretelling, even against her will, that one day the Capitol shall stand refulgent, and proud Rome triumphantly give law to all nations, and her conquests know no bounds but those of the world itself.

—————*Stet Capitolium*
Fulgens, triumphatque possit
Roma ferox dare jura Medis.——
Quicumque mundi terminus obstitit,
Hunc tangat armis.——

Let th' exil'd Trojans reign in ev'ry land,
 And let the Capitol in triumph stand,
 And all the tributary world command. }
 Let awful Rome with seven refulgent heads,
 Still keep her conquests o'er the vanquish'd Medes.
 With conqu'ring terror let her arms extend
 Her mighty name to shores without an end.

Virgil, by a single word, improves this idea, lofty as it is, in defining the Romans to be A PEOPLE every where KING: *Populum latè regem*. And still more in another place, when Anchises, after running over the different talents peculiar to other nations, exhorts the Romans to remember it is their business, their talent, to rule the world.

Virg. Æn.
 l. 6. v. 851.
Excudent alii spirantia mollius æra :
Credo equidem, vivos ducent de marmore vultus :
Orabunt causas melius.——
Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento :
Hæ tibi erunt artes.——

Others

Others shall best inspire the mimic brass ;
 Or out of marble carve a living face :
 Plead with more force.—— [mand,
 Thee, heavens, brave Roman, form'd for high com-
 Be these thy arts.——

I cannot exactly fix the date of these fabulous predictions. But certain it is, that the Roman people at all times, even from the very beginning, always acted as if they had a secret foresight of their future greatness. Livy and Dionysius frequently take notice, that the Romans, whose wise policy, beginning with Romulus himself, they relate with admiration, seemed to be conducted and guided by a Deity. This is much truer than they imagined. The Supreme Arbitrator and Governor of all the empires of the world, who has fixed their duration and limits, and particularly foretold the character and power of the Roman empire (as I have largely observed in the preface) inspired all the great men at the helm of the Roman government with the courage and prudence requisite for the success of their undertakings ; and presided, without its being known, at the assemblies of the Senate and People, to direct their consultations and resolves to the end he had decreed, causing the very passions of men, however unjust, to be the instruments of performing his will, which is holiness and justice itself.

Indeed, when the wonderful actions of Romulus, both in peace and in war, are duly considered, and when there are seen united in him the rare qualities of a religious, warlike, victorious, politic prince, one cannot help acknowledging the manifest signs of a particular providence ; and we should not scruple to ascribe to the true God, what Livy, who knew no better, imputes to the pretended father of the founder of Rome, the God Mars, and the other Deities. It has been remarked that Romulus, though very young, had in the infancy of Rome established for the government of the state almost all the maxims which

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afterwards conduced to its power and greatness. He did it without any foresight of the future. But another thought for him, and without consulting him, made him his instrument, referring all things to his design, which he kept as yet a secret, and delayed to reveal to the heathen world by the event, whilst he discovered the mystery to his prophets and people.

There were, as I said, several reports concerning Romulus's death. That of his being killed by the Senators, seems very probable to Dionysius Halicarnassensis and Plutarch : Livy looks upon it as an idle and dark story. According to the two first historians, the Senators, in the latter end of his reign, were much displeased with Romulus, because they had no share in the management of affairs. Distinguished only with an empty title, they were convened merely for custom and form-sake, and not to give their advice. Their sole business was respectfully to receive the King's commands, and their only superiority over the people was to be first informed of what passed. However, this was thought tolerable. But when by his own authority Romulus came to distribute to his soldiers the conquered lands, and restore the Veientes their hostages without asking their consent, then they thought the Senate treated with injustice and contempt. He was also accused of adding to great pride an excessive severity in punishing offenders. Above all, it was highly resented, that of himself, and without calling a council, he had ordered a great number of Roman citizens to be thrown down the Tarpeian rock for plundering the lands of their neighbours. These causes of discontent made the Senators suspected of being concerned in his death. It is believed he was murdered in the Senate, and to conceal from the people so barbarous an act, each Senator carried away a piece of his body under his robe : a circumstance very improbable.

Admiration for his great qualities caused the other opinion, however absurd, to prevail in the minds of the Romans, because it was more favourable to his reputation,

reputation, as well as to their glory and wishes. The Senate, unwilling to be thought accessary to his death, erected him altars, and made him a God, whom they could not bear as a sovereign. He was worshipped by the name of Quirinus. A temple was dedicated to him on the mount called from him Quirinalis. Several etymologies are given of the word Quirinus. Some derive it from Cures, capital of the Sabines, from whence the Romans were called Quirites. Others, and with better grounds, derive it from Curis, or Quiris, signifying in the Sabine language, a dart, and pretend the name Quirinus was given to Romulus as a warlike God. Servius, upon Virgil, observes, that Mars was also called Quirinus. Cicero * seems to make light of Romulus's divinity, and of those other Deities of fresh date, to whom had been granted, as it were, the favour of being citizens in heaven.

Plut. in
Rom.
p. 36.

In lib. 6.
Æn. v. 859

Romulus cannot be denied the title of Great Prince, and must be owned to shew throughout his whole reign an uncommon prudence and greatness of mind. I except the beginning, which was sullied with fratricide, and the end, if it be true, that he affected arbitrary power. The rape of the Sabine women, contrary to all law, can no otherwise be excused, than by the necessity Romulus was under, and by the honourable methods and entreaties which had been previously used. This injury was advantageously repaired, not only by the union of the two nations, the only fountain of their power and greatness; but more especially by the indulgence, mutual affection, good usage, spirit of peace and concord, regard for conjugal modesty and chastity, with which Romulus cemented these marriages. What ought to create a great esteem for Romulus, as I observed, is, that by attentively considering his conduct, whether in peace or in war, his treatment of the vanquished nations, his fraternal admission of them into the freedom of

* Romulum nostri [consecraverunt] aliosque complures: quos quasi novos & adscriptitios cives in cælum receptos putant. De Nat. Deor. l. 3. n. 39.

Rome, his good custom of sending colonies to the conquered cities; we perceive in his management almost all the maxims of sound policy, practised ever after by the Romans, and which rendered them lords of the universe.

It is not strange a Prince of this character should be lamented as Romulus was. Nothing but the belief of his being received among the Gods could comfort the people and dry up their tears. Thus died the founder of Rome and first King of the Romans, without leaving any children. He reigned thirty-seven, and lived fifty-five years, so that he was but eighteen years old when he assumed the reins of the government.

A. R. 37.
Ant. C.
715.



INTERREGNUM.

After an Interregnum of a year, NUMA POMPILIUS is chosen King.

THE death of Romulus, who had left no children, occasioned great troubles in Rome. There was yet no person, in a nation so recent, eminent enough above the rest to claim such a preference. The dispute lay between the two bodies which composed the Senate. The Sabines, who after Tatius's death had left the whole authority in the hands of Romulus, not to renounce their lawful right, demanded that the King should be chosen out of their nation. The old Romans, on their side, could not bear the thoughts of submitting to a foreigner. In this difference of sentiments all, however, desired a King.

Liv. l. 1.
c. 17 & 18.
Dionys.
l. 2. p. 119
---122.
Plut. in
Num. p. 59
---64.

Mean while, the Senators, fearing the city, which was without a head, might be exposed to the insults of some neighbours jealous of the Roman power, agreed to commit alternately to one of their body, according

according to a settled order, the authority and command for five days, during which he should enjoy all the honour of sovereignty. This form of government lasted one year, and was called Interregnum. The same method and name were afterwards retained during a vacancy of the throne, and even in the time of the Republic, in the frequent intervals between the elections of the magistrates.

A. R. 38.
Ant. C.
714.

The People growing uneasy under this sort of government, began to murmur, and openly complained that their servitude was increased by having two hundred masters instead of one. Discontent was so loud, that it plainly appeared the People would endure no King but of their own chusing. The Senators perceiving what was preparing, thought it prudence to offer the People what otherwise would be taken from them by force, and left them at liberty to elect a King, with this restriction however, that their choice should be confirmed and ratified by the Senate, which was, in some sense, a reservation of as much power as they gave. This proceeding was so grateful to the People, and so well received, that not to yield to the Senators in point of honour and deference, they entirely left to their suffrages the election of the King. It is excellent to see such a contest between Senate and People. The sequel will afford many more instances which greatly redound to their honour.

The election became very difficult, the Romans and Sabines, which then composed the Senate, endeavouring each to chuse one of their nation. This partiality preventing their agreeing upon a choice, it was at last concluded to draw lots which side should chuse, but with a proviso that the electors should chuse a King out of the other nation. Their aim was to inspire by that means the Prince with an equal affection for both parties. For if on the one hand love of the nation should lead him to favour his countrymen, on the other hand gratitude would bind him to do justice to those to whom he owed his advancement. The right of election fell to the Romans.

There was at that time in Cures, a city so often mentioned, a man of great reputation for probity and justice, called Numa Pompilius. Naturally inclined to virtue, he had been well educated, which greatly strengthens and improves such good dispositions. He was inured betimes to hardship and toil, and extremely averse to ambition and violence, deeming true greatness to consist in ruling the passions, and keeping them in subjection to reason. Luxury and magnificence were unknown to him in any degree. He dedicated himself entirely to the service of the citizens and strangers, to whom he was counsellor, arbiter, and judge. He had a great veneration for the Deity, whose nature and perfections were his study. All these excellent qualities had gained him such reputation and glory, that Tatius, who reigned at Rome with Romulus, had made him his son-in-law, by giving him his only daughter Tatia. This marriage did not make him more vain, nor so much as induced him to go and settle at Rome with his father-in-law. He remained still in the country of the Sabines, to be assistant to a father in his old age; and his wife Tatia, conforming to his inclinations and sentiments, preferred an obscure and peaceable life with her husband before all the honours the King her father could bestow on her at Rome. She died thirteen years after her marriage, and Numa, leaving the city, retired into the country, where, in sweet repose and agreeable solitude, he followed without reserve his natural inclination, which carried him to the study of morality and the contemplation of the Deity.

After long consultation, Numa Pompilius was chosen to fill the vacant throne. There are characters of virtue and probity which attract a general esteem and respect, which break thro' the passions of men and the strongest obstacles, and to which, though ever so unwilling, one is sometimes, as it were, forced to do justice. This was the case here. As soon as Numa Pompilius was named, all were united. Private views disappeared. It was forgot he was a foreigner, a
Sabine,

Sabine, and not settled at Rome. His virtue, his wisdom, capable of making subjects happy, were only considered. With the consent of the people, the principal Senators of both parties were instantly sent to intreat his presence and acceptance of the crown.

Numa was in his fortieth year when the Roman ambassadors came to him. The speakers were Volefus and Proculus, on one of whom it was at first thought the choice would fall, the Romans strongly favouring Proculus, and the Sabines being wholly inclined to Volefus. They imagined there would be no need of long speeches, but a bare proposal would be sufficient to obtain Numa's consent; and therefore they only told him in few words the occasion of their coming, and his election for their King by the Roman people. Then was his virtue known to be substantial, and his merit to surpass even his fame. He answered the ambassadors in the presence of his father and his friend Marcius to this effect: "He thought himself extremely honoured by the offer made him from the Roman people, but could not conceive how it was possible he should be pitched upon to fill so important a post. If he had any valuable qualities, they were all such as were more proper to exclude him from, than recommend him to, a throne: love of repose, a studious and retired life, a strong inclination to peace, and a violent aversion to war. His whole life had been spent with men, who assembled on festival-days to worship the Gods, and employed the rest of their time in ploughing their lands, and feeding their flocks. Every alteration in a man's life was dangerous, and it was folly for one that was above want, and had no reason to complain of his present circumstances, to relinquish an easy and peaceable state for one full of vexation and trouble. In a word, Rome breathing nothing but battles and victories, and pursuing only grandeur and dominion, it would be rashness in him to expect to inspire her with sentiments of peace and moderation, and to alter the conduct of

a people, who seemed to want rather a General than a King."

This speech extremely surpris'd the ambassadors, but at the same time fill'd them with a fresh esteem for a man who look'd down with indifference and contempt on a crown, generally deem'd by all mortals the greatest happiness and highest honour that can be aspir'd to. They repeated their endeavours, and press'd him more earnestly to yield to the desires of the Roman people, praying and conjuring him not to throw them by his refusal into new dissensions which would end in a civil war, since none but he alone would be acceptable to both parties.

When the ambassadors withdrew, his father and kinsman Marcius us'd their utmost endeavours to persuade him to accept an offer so advantageous, and so plainly appearing to be the will of the Gods. "If
 " your moderation (say they) renders you insensible
 " to riches, and makes you reckon the glory of do-
 " minion nothing in comparison to that of virtue,
 " remember that to rule well is doing God the most
 " acceptable homage and service. By him you are
 " called to a throne, that your love of justice and
 " equity may not remain fruitless. Reject not there-
 " fore a kingdom, which to a wise man is the amplest
 " field to perform great and noble actions. There the
 " Gods may be serv'd with magnificence, and men
 " inspir'd by soft and persuasive insinuations with
 " sentiments of religion: for subjects are always in-
 " fluenced by the royal example. The Romans know
 " how to value merit. They lov'd Tatius, though
 " a foreigner, and have immortalized the memory of
 " Romulus with divine honours. Who knows but
 " this victorious people may be tired of war, and
 " abounding with triumph and spoil, desire now a
 " ruler fill'd with lenity and justice, to govern them
 " in peace, under good laws and sound policy. But
 " should you still find in them this same inclina-
 " tion, or rather madness for war, would it not be
 " glorious to assume the reins, to turn this impetuous
 " ardour

“ardour another way, and unite by bonds of friendship and benevolence your country and the whole Sabine nation with a city so powerful and flourishing?” To these considerations were added, as it is said, very fortunate omens, which were seconded by the ardent zeal of the people of Cures; for when they heard the occasion of this embassy, they went in a body, and earnestly conjured him to accept the crown as an effectual means to join and incorporate them with the Romans.

Numa yielding at last, sacrificed to the Gods and set out for Rome. The Senate and People, strangely impatient to see him, came out to meet him. There was an universal joy. Vows by men and women were mixed with acclamations. Incense smoked in the temples. When they came to the Forum, Spurius Vettius, the Inter-rex for the day, for form-sake, ordered the People to proceed to his election. He had all their voices, and that instant the royal ornaments were brought him, but he would not receive them, saying, his election must first be confirmed by the Gods; and then taking with him the Augurs and Priests, he ascended the Capitol, called at that time the Tarpeian-hill. The auspices were quick and favourable. Then Numa putting on the royal robe, went down to the Forum, where the acclamations of the People were renewed, who called him the most religious of men, and the best beloved of the Gods,

An. R. 39.
Ant. C.
713.

CHAP. III.

The REIGN of NUMA POMPILIUS.

SECT. I.

Numa applies himself to soften the manners of the Romans, and inspire them with a peaceable spirit by religious exercises. He builds the temple of Janus. His conversations with the nymph Egeria. He reforms the Calendar. Creates the Pontifices. Regulates the functions of the Vestals. Establishes the Salii: then the Heralds at Arms, or Feciales, and other heralds for religious ceremonies. Wonderful effects of these institutions.

Dion. l. 2.
p. 123.

THE natural temper of Romulus, and the wants of a growing state, obliged him to be always sword in hand; and in his reign, the Romans, ever at war, increased by battles and slaughter the fierceness natural to a band of herdsmen and adventurers. Numa, called to the throne in the manner described, perceived that the grandeur, ornament, and happiness of Rome depended upon two things, which could not be too firmly established; (these are the words of a heathen writer :) first, upon a sincere piety towards the Gods, which causes them to be regarded by mortals with reverence and gratitude, as the authors and preservers of every good thing; secondly, upon a zeal for justice, by which every particular person peaceably enjoys the blessings he has received at their hands. And indeed, these are the two bases of all wise governments, and the sum of all the duties of royalty: to render first to God, and then to man, whatever is their due. Kings are not Kings but for that purpose only.

Liv. l. 1.
c. 19.

Numa plainly saw, to accomplish his design and infuse such sentiments into the Romans, his first care must be to soften and tame their minds, to extinguish by degrees their warlike ardour, and turn them insensibly

sensibly to pacific and gentle exercises, which should cause them to forget and lose their first inclination. With this he begun. As an acknowledgment to the Gods for the tranquillity at Rome at his accession to the throne, he built in honour of Janus, a temple which was to be a public indication and sign of war and peace: of war, when open, of peace, when shut (1). It continued shut his whole reign: but, afterwards, from his death to the time of Livy's writing his history, it was shut but twice: first in the consulship of T. Manlius, some years after the end of the first Punic war; secondly, under Augustus, after the battle of Actium, which gave peace to the world: an advantage (says the historian) which the Gods have granted our age: *Iterum, quod nostræ ætati Dii dederunt ut videremus, post bellum Actiacum, ab Imperatore Cæsare Augusto pace terra marique parta.* I desire the reader to observe with what modesty Livy, on the first occasion of mentioning the emperor, speaks of an event which redounded so much to his glory, and how far the antients were from that servile flattery which is too often the disgrace and reproach of our writings. Numa had alone the glory of keeping this

(1) Janus's temple was a square building, (said to be all of brass) in which was a statue of Janus five foot high, with brazen gates on each side. The custom of opening them in war, and shutting them in peace is nobly described by Virgil in the following lines:

Sunt geminæ belli portæ, sic nomine dicunt,
Religione sacræ, & sævi formidine Martis:
Centum ærei claudunt vinctes æternaque ferri
Robora; nec custos absistit limine Janus.
Hæc, ubi certa sedet patribus sententia pugnæ,
Ipse, Quirinali trabea cinctuque Gabino
Insignis referat stridentia limina consul;
Ipse vocat pugnæ----- VIRG. Æn. 7.

Two stately gates (the name of Mars they bear)
And still are worshipp'd with religious fear;
Before his temple stand: The dire abode
And the fear'd issues of the furious God,
Are fenc'd with brazen bolts, without the gates
The wary guardian Janus doubly waits.
Then, when the sacred Senate votes the wars,
The Roman Consul their decree declares,
And in his robe the sounding gates unbars.

}
temple

temple shut a long time, that is, during the forty years of his reign : so much did a reverence for his virtue keep even the neighbouring nations within the bounds of peace and tranquillity.

A report, raised doubtless by himself, of his frequently conversing in private with the nymph Egeria, wonderfully disposed the People to receive all his new regulations as so many divine inspirations. Some such thing was said of Minos, Lycurgus, and afterwards of the first Scipio Africanus. These great men knowing the idea of a God to be deeply ingraven on the heart of man, and to make there naturally a strong impression of reverence and submission, believed, in order to mollify and bend to reason and the laws, intractable tempers, they might, even with fraud and imposture, support themselves with the authority of the Gods, and cloath themselves with their name ; a powerful and efficacious expedient on the People. They never considered that all dissimulation, all lying was contrary to the reverence due to the Deity, and that without reverence there can be neither holiness nor religion*.

Liv. l. 1.
c. 19.
Plut. in
Num. p.
72.

Before the order of the sacrifices could be prescribed, it was necessary to reform the calendar, and to that Numa applied his first care. Romulus, little skilled in astronomy, divided the year but into ten months, and called March the first, from the name of his father. This way of computing the year, agreeable to the course neither of the sun nor of the moon, bred great confusion. Numa corrected this gross error, and adding two months, January and February, to the beginning of the year, made it consist of 355 days only, or twelve lunar months, and used intercalations, which at the end of twenty annual revolutions, reduced the years to their just point (1). Julius Cæsar

* In specie sistæ simulationis, sicut reliquæ virtutes ita pietas inesse non potest, cum qua simul & sanctitatem & religionem tolli necesse est. 1. De Nat. n. 3.

(1) January from Janus : February from Februo, to purify, the feast of purification being then celebrated : March from Mars : April from Aphrodite, the Greek name of Venus ; or from aperio to open,

Cæsar perceiving this calculation to be still wrong, added above ten days, making the year just 365 days and six hours, and reserved the six hours till the end of four years to make a whole day, which was inserted before the sixth of the Calends of March, the place always fixed for the intercalations; so that every fourth year the sixth of the Calends was reckoned twice, saying the second time *bis sexto Calendas*, whence the word Bissextus, and the year had then 366 days, and was called Bissextilis. As this computation also was not exact, because the solar year wants about eleven minutes of 365 days six hours, it was reformed under Gregory XIII. in 1582, and brought to the greatest exactness possible.

Numa instituted also the days called by the Romans, Fasti and Nefasti. On the first the Judges sat in judgment, and the People held their assemblies: which was not allowed on the other days (1).

Numa made no alteration in the customs and ceremonies wisely instituted by Romulus: he only added what he thought his predecessor had omitted.

Romulus had appointed a priest peculiar to Jupiter, Flamen Dialis. Numa appointed two more, one for Mars, and the other for Quirinus or Romulus. These priests are supposed to be called Flamines, from a flame-coloured veil which they wore called Flameum (2).

He

as buds and flowers do in the spring: May from Maia, mother of Mercury, or (according to others) the same with Rhea, Ops or the earth. June from juventus, or Juno. July from Julius Cæsar: August from Augustus. These like the residue were first named from their order, Quintilis the fifth, Sextilis the sixth, (reckoning March the first) September the seventh, &c.

(1) Numa divided the days into, 1. Dies Festi, on which were celebrated Sacrificia, Sacrifices; Epulæ, banquets to the honour of the Gods; Ludi, public games; Feriæ, public festivals. 2. Dies Profesti, particularly Dies Fasti, or court-days, on which it was lawful for the Prætor to sit in judgment, and "fari tria verba," say the three solemn words, Do, I give law; Dico, I declare right; Addico, I adjudge damages. Other days, except Dies Intercisi, (which were divided between sacred and ordinary employments) were called Dies Nefasti, or non-court-days, on which the three words could not be said. Dies Nefastus is also used by Horace for an unlucky day.

(2) Plutarch says the word Flamines is a corruption of Pilamines from

He created also four Pontifices (1), the first of whom was called Pontifex Maximus (2), and had authority over the rest: They were all of Patrician extraction.

Liv. l. 10. c. 6. Flor. Ep. l. 89. In the year of Rome 452, four more were added out of the Plebeians: and at last under Sylla they were increased to fifteen, as were also the Augurs at the same time. Romulus created at first but three Augurs, taken out of the Patricians, but the additional number, like that of the Pontifices, were also chosen out of the People.

Dionys. l. 2. p. 132. Liv. l. 1. c. 20. Numa gave the Pontifices the superintendency of the sacrifices, ceremonies, festivals, solemn processions, in a word, of every thing concerning divine service. They gave judgment in all religious differences between private persons, magistrates, and officers belonging to the public worship. They took care that the inferior ministers did nothing against the usual forms. It was their business to instruct people in the knowledge of the Gods and way of worship, to inform them what days, in what temples, and what kind of sacrifices they were to offer; what ceremonies were to be used at funerals; how long the mourning was to last, (which could not at farthest exceed ten months) and how the manes were to be

from Pileus, a cap proper to the order. Others will have it a contraction of Filamines from filum, the thread they bound about their heads instead of a cap, as being lighter. The Flamines were chosen by the People, and inaugurated by the Pontifex Maximus, to whom they were subject. Their ministry was confined to a particular God, as Flamen Dialis to Jupiter, Flamen Martialis to Mars, and Flamen Quirinalis to Romulus. Their wives were called Flaminicæ, and partook of the priesthood. A Flaminica could not be divorced upon any account, and upon her death the husband lost his sacerdotal dignity. The Flamen Dialis was a person of great authority in the state, and tied to several superstitious restraints as well as honoured with several eminent privileges, which see at large in Gellius.

(1) The word Pontifex is by some derived from Pons and facere, because they built and had the care of the Sublician-bridge in Rome: by others from posse and facere for offerre and sacrificare. The first is the received opinion, though thought absurd by Plutarch.

(2) The Pontifex Maximus is defined by Festus, The judge and arbitrator of divine and human affairs. Upon which account this office, or at least the name, was assumed by all the Roman emperors till the time of Gratian, who refused it. The popes afterwards assumed it, and enjoy it to this day.

appeased. In the college of the Pontifices were also examined the prodigies, whether they deserved any regard, and how they were to be expiated. They punished offenders against their orders in proportion to the offence. When a Pontifex died, his colleagues named another in his place. In process of time, this choice was left to the People.

Numa is looked upon as author of the Vestal institution, because he more distinctly regulated the ministry and office of that order; for, as we have seen in the example of Rhea Sylvia, there were Vestals before him. He made but four. Two more were added by Tarquinius Priscus or Servius Tullius; and that number remained unaltered. Numa committed to them the keeping of the immortal fire (1) and Palladium (2), with the care of certain secret sacrifices and ceremonies in the worship of the goddess Vesta. They vowed chastity for the thirty years that they attended on the service of the Goddess. The age of admission was above six and under ten. They were to be without any corporal blemish. The ten first years were a sort of noviciate or probation-time, wherein they learned the sacred mysteries: the next ten were

Dionys.
l. 2. p. 125.
—129.
Plut. in
Num. p.
66 & 67.
Liv. l. 1.
c. 20.

Aul. Gell.
l. 1. c. 12.

(1) It is observable that a sacred fire was always a part of religion. Even amongst the Jews, 'The fire shall ever be burning on the altar, it shall never go out.' See Levit. vi. 13. The same was kept in the temples of Ceres at Mantinea, of Apollo at Delphos and Athens, by the Magi among the Persians. This custom, says Diodorus Siculus, came from Ægypt to Greece, and from thence to Rome.

(2) It is uncertain whether this statue gave name to Pallas, or Pallas to it. Ovid says it fell down from heaven upon a hill near Troy, which city could not be taken as long as that image remained there; and therefore it was stolen away by Diomedes and Ulysses, after which Troy was quickly destroyed. It is pretended there were two statues, one true, the other counterfeit, and that the counterfeit was stolen, but the true one was brought by Æneas into Italy. Arnobius and Clemens Alexandrinus say it was made of Pelops's bones, king of Peloponnesus. Dionysius Halicarnassensis says, Pallas was king of Arcadia, father of Chryse, wife of Dardanus king of Troy, with whom he had this statue for her portion, and called it Pallas's present. In process of time, to render it venerable, it was said to be the statue of a goddess named the Arcadian Pallas. This is the more probable, as the Palladium represented a young man in armour, which might easily be mistaken for a warlike goddess. Many secrets and mysteries are said to belong to the Palladium, which were not to be revealed to the vulgar.

spent

spent in the practice of them, and the ten last in teaching the novices. This term being expired, they were free to quit the order, lay aside the distinctions of it, and marry. Very few, it is said, made use of this liberty, deterred by their fatal experience (as it is pretended) of the unhappy end commonly attending those who changed their condition.

For a balance to their vow of thirty years chastity, very great privileges and marks of distinction were, at several times, granted to the Vestals. They had a right to make a will in their father's life-time, and to dispose of their effects without a trustee; for the Roman women were always under guardianship. They were forbid to take an oath, and were believed in courts of justice on their bare word. When they appeared in public, a Licitor attended them with the fasces. If a Vestal in her walks happened to meet a malefactor leading to execution, he was pardoned, upon her assurance that the meeting was purely accidental, and not on purpose. They had a distinguished rank and place of honour in the Circus and at other public fights. They were brought up and maintained at the expence of the public.

If on one hand great honours were paid to the dignity and virtue of the Vestals, on the other hand, their faults were punished with as great severity. Their faults were of two kinds: either negligence in suffering the sacred fire to go out: or lewdness in violating their vow of chastity.

In the first case*, which was looked on as the sign of some great calamity to the state, the guilty Vestal was punished as a slave, that is, with scourging: covered only with a veil, for modesty-sake, she was whipped with rods by the Pontifex Maximus. One of the Vestals spent the whole night by the sacred fire to prevent its extinction, and they watched thus by turns.

* Plus omnibus, aut nunciatis peregre, aut visis demi prodigiis, terruit animos hominum ignis in æde Vestæ extinctus, casaque flagro est Vestalis, cujus custodia noctis ejus fuerat, jussu P. Licinii Pontificis. LIV. l. 28. c. 11.

When the fire was out, it was to be rekindled by the rays of the sun, the manner of which is variously related.

The great crime of the Vestals was the breach of their vow of chastity : accordingly it was punished in a manner not to be described without horror. They were buried alive. There is, says Plutarch, near the Colline gate, a little vault with a hole to go down into it. In the vault is a small bed, a lighted lamp, and a little quantity of provisions, as a loaf, a pitcher of water, a vial of oil, and a pot of milk, only not to wound religion, by starving to death a person consecrated with the most august and sacred ceremonies. Strange scruple ! they feared to starve her whom they buried alive. The offender is put into a close and covered litter, that her cries may not be heard, and carried in that manner across the Forum. At the sight of the litter, all retire to let it pass, and it is followed in profound silence with all the marks of the deepest sorrow. There is not a more horrible spectacle, not a more frightful or more mournful day for Rome. When the litter is come to the place of punishment, the Lictors take off the covering, and open it ; and the Pontifex Maximus, after some private prayers with hands lifted to heaven, takes out the criminal all over veiled, and sets her on the ladder to go down into the vault. After which he returns with the other priests, and the unhappy Vestal is no sooner down, but the ladder is removed, and the hole filled up with earth till the ground is even, and no sign of a grave remains, as if the criminal was deemed unworthy to appear as well among the dead as the living.

By this terrible execution seen the notion of the Heathens themselves concerning a virgin's breach of her vow of chastity, and their fear of its drawing down the curse and vengeance of the Gods upon the whole state, if it remained unpunished. To avoid so fatal a calamity, the Vestals were exhorted to use the strictest precautions, to keep as far as possible from the sin, and to fly with horror from every thing

Liv. l. 4.
c. 44.

that could cast the least blemish on their reputation. Posthumia, a Vestal, having brought herself under suspicion by a dress and gaiety unbecoming a virgin, was called to her trial. She was indeed, after a long examination, found innocent : but the Pontifex Maximus ordered her to lay aside for the future those gay airs, and study to show, in her dress, more wisdom and modesty than elegance and taste ; *abstinere jocos, colique sanctè potius quàm scitè jussit.*

Dion.
Cass. l. 55.
p. 563.

Sueton. in
Aug. c. 31.

We see also, by the difficulty of completing the fixed number of Vestals, the infinite difference between Christianity and Paganism. Though the Romans had but six virgins that vowed chastity a certain number of years, and though great honours and privileges were granted them, yet Augustus was forced to admit into the order the daughters of freedmen, because persons of quality were unwilling to dedicate theirs to this honourable office, which, in its primitive institution, was appointed only for Patrician families. Here Christianity triumphs. Shortly after its establishment, thousands of virgins filled the cities and solitudes, voluntarily renouncing their estates, with all their worldly pomp and hopes ; and even exposing themselves with incredible fortitude to the most cruel torments, to crown their virginity with martyrdom. Is it doubtful whence sprung a change so wonderful, and a fortitude so far beyond the power of nature ?

I have enlarged a little on the Vestals, that I might not be obliged to resume the subject hereafter.

Dionys.

l. 2. p. 129,
130.

Plut. ibid.
p. 68, 69.

Liv. l. 1.
c. 20.

The Salii are other priests instituted by Numa on the following occasion. In the eighth year of his reign, a contagious distemper raging in Italy and severely infesting Rome, whilst all were in the utmost consternation, a brazen target, it is said, fell from heaven into the King's hands, and he instantly uttered strange things, taught him, as he affirmed, by Egeria and the Muses : that the target was sent for the cure and preservation of Rome, which should enjoy a constant and uninterrupted happiness as long as that pre-

precious pledge should be preserved : that it ought to be kept with great care, and eleven other targets of the same size and shape be speedily made, that in case of an attempt to steal it away, the true might not be distinguished from the counterfeit. Marmurius Veturius, an excellent artist, made eleven targets so like the first, that Numa himself could not distinguish them. He desired no other reward for his labour, than that in the songs to be composed for the intended festival, his name might be inserted : a favour readily granted him *. These targets were called Ancilia †, because, according to Varro, they were sloped on both sides, like the Thracian bucklers. The keeping of these targets was committed to twelve Roman citizens of Patrician families and known probity. Clothed in a purple tunic, girded with a broad belt clasped with brass buckles, helmets on their head, and short swords in their right hand, with which they struck the targets in their left, they walked pompously in solemn procession every March, singing verses composed on purpose for the occasion, and dancing in time to the sound of flutes, from whence they were called Salii (1).

Numa, mindful of all the parts of the govern- Liv. l. 1.
ment, where he intended religion should be predo- c. 32.
minant, established a college of Herald's at arms, Dionys.
called Feciales (2). Their principal office concerned l. 2. p. 132.
the declarations of war and peace, and the method used in the first demonstrates the equity and religion of the Romans in a matter which is commonly managed in a very different manner. When war is to be proclaimed, (says Dionysius Halicarnassensis) the

* Inde sacerdotes operi promissa vetusto
Præmia perfolvunt, Marmuriumque vocant. OVID.

† Ab ancisū, quòd ea arma ab utraque parte, ut peltæ Thracum, incisā. VARR. l. 6. de ling. Lat.

(1) The entertainments of the Salii upon their festival were very costly and magnificent : hence dapes saliares in Horace for dainties. Od. 37. l. 1.

(2) The word by Varro is derived from fides, as they had the care of the public faith in leagues. By others, à fœdere faciendo, from making leagues.

Heralds at arms commission one of their college for that purpose *. He, clothed in a more magnificent and venerable habit than ordinary, proceeds to the city complained of, and entering the frontiers, stops, and calls Jupiter and all the Gods to witness, that he is come to demand justice in the name of the Roman people. This is followed with many imprecations on himself and on Rome, if he says any thing contrary to truth. Then he advances, and to the first person he meets of town or country, he repeats the same protestations. When he comes to the gates, he renews, in presence of the guard, his oaths, and goes on to the public place of concourse. There, in a standing posture, he declares to the magistrates the cause of his coming, with fresh oaths and imprecations; and if he finds them inclined to do justice, and deliver up the wrong-doers, he takes them with him, and returns without acting or denouncing any hostility. If they desire time to consider, he gives them ten days, at the end of which he comes again to them; and if it be necessary, consents to a farther delay. But after thirty days, if his remonstrances are not heard, he calls to witness all the celestial and infernal Gods, and departs with saying only, the Roman people will consider at leisure the refusal of doing them justice. At his return to Rome he repairs to the Senate with all the rest of the Heralds at arms: protests he has carefully discharged his duty as prescribed by the law, and declares the legality of the war. The Roman Senate and People did not think they could lawfully make war without observing these formalities †. Numa's design in their institution was to render the Romans extremely considerate, circumspect, and moderate, before the declaration of a war: and to check the first motions of revenge by those horrible imprecations denounced a-

* He that was employed in that office was called *Pater patratus*.

† Ex quo intelligi potest, nullum bellum esse justum, nisi quod aut rebus repetitis geratur, aut denuntiatur antè sit & indictum. *Offic.* l. n. 36.

gainst the Roman people themselves, if the Deity saw them unjust. Accordingly Varro observes *, the Romans took up arms slowly and without passion, persuaded that none but a just and necessary war should be undertaken; and to sentiments so reasonable, Dionysius ascribes the happy successes granted by the Gods to their arms.

Plutarch mentions another kind of Heralds employed in religious ceremonies and solemn processions. They walked before the priests, proclaiming through the city silence and cessation from work. Numa, (says the historian) would have his citizens to assist at divine service and public prayers, not carelessly, and with negligence and distraction, but to cease from their occupations, and wholly attend to the solemnity, as to the most important action of life; and therefore the noises inseparable from most of the necessary trades were not to be heard, and the streets were to be kept clean and free during the procession. Plutarch observes, that in certain sacrifices the Herald cried out, *Hoc age*, that is, Mind what you are about; to admonish the people to behave reverently and attentively to what was doing. How many Christians improve by these examples given them by Heathens!

Plut. in
Num. p.
69.

Numa, who, at his accession to the throne, found the Romans (as we observed) unpolished, fierce, violent, and breathing only battles and war, believed the only possible way to draw them out of that state was by frequent exercises of religion.

Liv. l. i.
c. 21.

He is said to be the first that erected a temple and appointed a publick worship to Fides, and taught the Romans that the most sacred oath they could make, was to swear *ex fide*, by their Faith or Veracity. His intention was to render their promises, without writings or witnesses, as firm and certain as contracts made and sworn with all formalities; and in this he succeeded to his wish. Polybius gives this glorious

Liv. l. i.
c. 21.
Dionys.
l. 2. p. 134.
Plut. in
Num.
p. 70.
Lib. 6. p.
498.

* Bella & tardè, nec magna licentia suscipiebant, quòd nullum bellum nisi pium putabant geri oportere. VARR. l. 2. de vita P. R.

testimony of the Romans, that they inviolably kept their Faith, that is, their word, without any occasion for witnesses or securities ; whereas nothing could bind the Greeks to their promises.

Ibid.

That every man might be contented with his own lands, and not covet or invade his neighbour's, he established laws concerning boundaries, and appointed a most solemn festival in honour of the God that presided at it. He was called Terminus, and his festival Terminalia (1). Dionysius observes, that in his time the external rites of this festival were still very religiously observed, but the spirit and substance openly contemned. And indeed we shall find that the avarice of the rich will lead them to seize most of the lands of private persons as well as of the public, which occasioned continual divisions in the commonwealth ; and that the Roman people themselves in general ever thirsting after new conquests, will set no bounds to their ambition. Thus the God Terminus will be always outwardly honoured at Rome, and always really contemned and insulted.

Numa implanted so profound a reverence for religion in the Romans of his time, that he caused that warlike people to lay down their arms, and employ themselves throughout his whole reign in rendering the Gods propitious. The remembrance of the Deity, ever present in their thoughts, had inspired them with such a piety, that the citizens did their duty, not so much out of fear of the penal laws, as a religious regard to their word and oath. All (says Livy) formed their manners by the King's, whom they took for their sole pattern. And how deep in them was the impression of a religion, though false, appears from the respect it drew from their neighbours : insomuch that the nations about them, who before had considered Rome, not as a city, but as a camp, placed among them to disturb the public

(1) Stones dedicated to Jupiter Terminalis were placed on the borders of the Roman territory, and also as land-marks to private possessions ; which became a sort of Deities, or Dii Termini.

tranquility, conceived for them such a reverence, that they would have thought it a sort of impiety to attack a people wholly intent upon the service of the Gods *. Happy the people, whose Prince abounds with solid and real piety, since the shadow alone of it produces such effects !

Religion, I said, though false, had a great influence over the Romans, and no wonder. There is in mankind a natural religion that comes from God ; and the impression of it is very useful, when it leads to sincerity and an inviolable observance of oaths ; which was the sum and substance of Numa's religion. So far was good, true, just, agreeable to nature, and to the institution of the Author of nature. What was wrong, was their paying these duties to false Gods. They made an ill use of a good thing, and spoiled it by the end to which they referred it. And in this light it is that the brightest actions of the Heathens are to be viewed.

S E C T. II.

Numa applies himself to establish good order in the city and country. Inspires his subjects with the love of labour, frugality, and poverty. Dies lamented by all the people. Erroneous opinion of his having been Pythagoras's scholar. Sacred books laid up in his tomb.

BY what has hitherto been said, it plainly appears that Numa's first and chief care was religion. But his noble views in that respect hindered not his attention to whatever concerned the civil

* Ad hæc consultanda, procurandaque, multitudine omni à vi & armis conversa, & animi aliquid agendo occupati erant, & deorum assidua insidens cura, cum interesse rebus humanis cœleste numen videretur, ea pietate omnium pectora imbuerat, ut fides ac jusjurandum pro summo legum ac pœnarum metu, civitatem regerent. Et cum ipsi se homines in regis, velut unici exempli, mores formarent ; tum finitimi etiam populi, qui antè castra non urbem positam in medio ad sollicitandam omnium pacem crediderant, in eam verecundiam adducti sunt, ut civitatem totam in cultum versam deorum violari ducerent nefas. LIV.

government and good order, whether in the city or the country, and nothing was omitted by him that could conduce to cherish among the citizens a spirit of peace, unity, and justice.

1 *Iut. in*
Num.
P. 71.

Among all Numa's appointments, one of the best (says Plutarch) was the distribution of the people by their several professions and trades. Rome was originally composed of two nations, Romans and Sabines: or rather was divided into two opposite factions by that difference of origin which rendered them as foreigners to one another, and created continual quarrels and contests. Numa found it of great importance to banish from the city that party-spirit which made one say and think, "I am a Sabine," or "I am a subject of Tatius;" and another, "I am a Roman," or "I am a subject of Romulus." He thought therefore, that, as solid bodies, which cannot be mixed together whilst they are whole, very readily incorporate when beat to powder, the minuteness of the parts helping the mixture, in like manner the two great bodies of Romans and Sabines were to be divided into many small parts, which would annihilate the difference and diversity of nation and origin, which prevented a perfect union. To this end, he divided the people by their occupations, as musicians*, goldsmiths, carpenters, dyers, and the like: ranking them, according to their professions, in several companies; appointing fraternities, festivals, assemblies; granting each company particular privileges, and by that means establishing among them an union which made them forget they were Romans or Sabines.

Ibid.

Attention to the ease of the citizens in a prevention of poverty, or deliverance from it, is a great article of sound policy. Of this Numa from the beginning of his reign took particular care. He knew the indigent are more inclined than all the rest to seditions, because, dissatisfied with their present condition,

* They were employed in the sacrifices and other religious ceremonies.

they cannot lose, but may gain, by a change. They are not so good fathers of families. They neglect the nurture, education, and discipline of their children, and think less of settling them, and perpetuating their posterity, in which consists the strength and riches of a state. Numa, to obviate this inconvenience, divided among the poorer citizens the conquered lands, to keep them from idleness, and its attendant, injustice, by the enjoyment of the lawful fruits of their labour, and to incline them to a love of peace, so necessary to the husbandman. No expedient for that purpose could be more just, more humane, less chargeable to the rich, and more proper for increasing from age to age the strength of the commonwealth by a constant supply of new citizens.

To attach his subjects to the improvement of the lands in a more affecting and steady manner, he distributed them into Pagi or villages, set over them inspectors and superintendants, frequently viewed himself the labours of the field, judged of the owners by the work, advanced to posts the laborious, diligent, and industrious; reprimanded the negligent and slothful. By these various means, supported by his example, he rendered agriculture so honourable, that in the following ages, the generals and chief magistrates, far from regarding as beneath them the rural occupations, gloried in cultivating their fields with the same victorious and triumphant hands that had conquered the enemies of the state, and put their armies to flight.

It was this love of labour and a country-life, infused at first by Numa into his subjects, that preserved for so many ages the noble sentiments, generosity, disinterestedness, which have rendered the Roman name much more illustrious than all the most renowned victories. For, it must be owned, an innocent country-life is very nearly related to wisdom, being as it were her sister*; and it may justly be considered as an

* *Res rustica, sine dubitatione, proxima & quasi consanguinea sapientiæ est. COLUM. de re rust. l. 1.*

excellent school of simplicity, frugality, justice, and all the moral virtues †.

Plut. p. 73. Numa, educated in this school, inspired with the same taste and sentiments not only his own subjects, but most of the neighbouring cities; wherein, as if a happy influence of gentleness and tranquility flowing from Rome had been shed all around, was seen a wonderful change of manners; and, instead of martial ardor, an eager desire to live in peace, to cultivate the lands, to bring up their children, and serve the Gods, in quiet. Throughout the whole country, there was nothing but festivals, sports, sacrifices, feasts, and rejoicings of people, who visited one another without fear, as if Numa's wisdom had been a plentiful fountain, from whence the streams of virtue and justice had flowed into the minds of the people, and infused into their hearts the same tranquility that reigned in his own.

And indeed, during Numa's reign of forty-three years, neither war nor rebellion appeared, nor did ambition conspire against him. But whether reverence for his eminent virtue, or fear of the Deity (says Plutarch) who so visibly protected him, disarmed vice; whether Heaven, by a particular providence, was pleased to preserve this happy reign from whatever might sully its glory or disturb its peace, it has served for proof and instance of that great maxim long since advanced by Plato, when speaking of government he says, "Cities and people shall not be freed from their evils, till, by a particular providence of the Gods, the sovereign and philosopher (that is, the man enlightened with wisdom and knowledge) being united in one person, shall render virtue triumphant over vice."

Lib. 5. de
Rep.
P. 473.

Dionys.
P. 135.

During the long tranquility Rome enjoyed under Numa, the neighbouring nations were so far from taking advantage of his pacific temper to make war upon him, that in all their differences with one ano-

† Vita rustica parsimoniae, diligentiae, justitiae magistra est. Cic. orat. pro Rosc. Amor. n. 75.

ther, they chose the Romans for umpires, and referred them entirely to Numa's decisions : a glory infinitely preferable to that of conquests founded usually on injustice, whereas the other is the effect of the esteem and gratitude of the nations, who cannot but pay a public homage to the wisdom, justice, and sincerity, of a prince perfectly void of self-interest, and solely intent on the happiness of others. He attained to an extreme old age, having lived above eighty-three years without misfortune or sickness. He ended his life in the gentlest manner, that is, by nature being quite exhausted. His reign had lasted forty-three years.

Numa's particular taste for the study of philosophy, the wisdom of his regulations and laws, his profound reverence for the Deity, the conformity of sentiments in several points with those of Pythagoras, have made some authors believe him to be a scholar of that famous philosopher, and formed by his instructions. But Pythagoras's first appearance in Italy was above an hundred and fifty years after Numa, in the reign of Tarquin the Proud, or of Servius Tullius. Hence, according to Cicero's judicious remark *, Numa ought to be the more admired for having known and practised the soundest maxims of policy and the art of government so many years before Greece had any notion of the thing.

Liv. l. 1.
c. 18.
Dionys.
p. 120.
Plut. p. 60.

Tusc.
Quæst. l. 1.
n. 38.

The public veneration shown at his funeral crowned the happiness of his life. All the neighbouring nations, friends and allies of Rome, thought themselves bound to be present. The Patricians themselves carried on their shoulders the coffin in which his body was laid. They were followed by the priests of all the temples, and an infinite number of people. The tears, the sighs, the groans of the whole company, made his elogy. He was lamented, not as a prince dead of old age, but as if they had buried the dearest friend in the flower of his youth.

Plut. p. 74.

* Quo etiam major vir habendus est Numa, cum illam sapientiam constituendæ civitatis duobus propè seculis antè cognovit, quàm eam Græci natam esse senserunt. De orat. l. 2. n. 154.

Plut. p. 74.

Liv. 1. 40.
c. 29.

His body was not burnt, because he had forbid it; but two stone-coffins were made, which were interred at the foot of the Janiculum (1): his body was laid in one, and in the other were put the sacred books of his own writing, doubtless because it was his command. Authors differ about the number and other circumstances. Livy says there were fourteen: seven in Latin concerning the Pontifical right, and seven in Greek upon philosophy, such as it was in those remote times. Above five hundred and thirty years after, in the year of Rome 573, these two stone-coffins were found in digging the ground. One was entirely empty, without any remains or sign of a human body, length of time having consumed the whole: in the other were two parcels of books not only entire, but appearing newly written *. Petilius, Prætor of the city, who perused them, reporting to the Senate, that he did not think them proper to be made public or preserved, as containing many things prejudicial to religion †, they were burnt by order of the Senate before the People in the Forum.

It does not appear why Numa would have these books put into a coffin; and much less how books composed by a King so pious and religious, could contain many things repugnant to religion. Perhaps the superstitions which then prevailed in Rome were condemned in them; and that this was what the Prætor meant.

Univ. Hist.
P. 429.

Mr. Bossuet, the glory of the French clergy, makes one observation upon the religious books of all the

(1) A hill so called from Janus or Janua. The sparkling sands it abounds with procured it the name of Mons Aureus, at present by corruption called Montorio. From hence, says Martial in one of his epigrams, is the best prospect of Rome. Lib. 4. Ep. 64.

* This seems very hard to be believed. It is pretended, a certain juice, drawn from cedar or the citron-tree, preserves from corruption the things on which it is sprinkled. Hence the expression of Horace, *Carmina linenda cedro*, (Art. Poet.) for verses that should last for ever. Pliny indeed gives this reason why Numa's works did not rot. "*Libros citratos (or cidratos) fuisse: propterea arbitrari tinea non tetigisse.*" Lib. 13. c. 13.

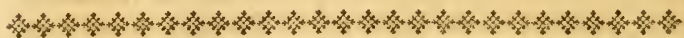
† *Cum animadvertisset pleraque dissolvendarum religionum esse.*
Liv.

antient nations, which I cannot forbear to insert. The works, says he, that the Egyptians and other nations called divine, have long been lost, and there remain but very dark traces of them in the antient histories. The sacred books of the Romans, wherein Numa, author of their religion, had described the mysteries of it, perished by the hands of the Romans themselves, being burnt by the Senate, as tending to the subversion of religion. These same Romans in the end suffered the Sibylline writings to perish so long revered among them as prophetic, and where they would have it believed that they found the decrees of the immortal Gods concerning their empire, without, however, exhibiting to the public, I will not say one single volume, but one single prediction. The Jews are the only people whose sacred writings have been the more revered as they have been the more known. Of all the antient nations, they alone have preserved the primitive monuments of their religion, though they abound with testimonies of their own, as well as of the unfaithfulness of their forefathers. And still at this day the same people remain upon earth to carry to all nations where they are dispersed, along with their religion, the miracles and predictions which render it unshaken.

In the * two reigns of Romulus and Numa, who established and strengthened Rome, one by war, the other by peace, may be observed almost all the principles afterwards practised by the Romans, whether for the public administration, or for private conduct : a great respect for the sacredness of an oath, for the worship of the Gods, for religious ceremonies ; a particular care not to undertake any but just wars, to make victory subservient to the incorporating the vanquished by the right of freedom, and to settle in the conquered countries numerous colonies : a professed relish and happy habit for a plain, poor, frugal,

* Duo deinceps reges, alius alia vir, ille bello, hic pace, civitatem auxerunt.—Tum valida, tum temperata & belli & pacis artibus erat civitas. Liv. l. 1. c. 21.

laborious life, equally fit for the painful toils of agriculture, and the hard exercises of war, in which their whole occupation consisted : so that it might be said of the Romans, in some sense, that they were a nation of husbandmen and soldiers.



C H A P. III.

The REIGN of TULLUS HOSTILIUS.

Tullus divides the lands among the poor citizens. Incloses mount Caelius within the city. War with the Albans ; ended by a single combat of the Horatii and Curiatii. Horatius kills his sister. Treachery and punishment of Suffetius. Alba demolished, and the inhabitants removed to Rome. War with the Sabines ; then with the Latines. Plague at Rome. Death of Tullus Hostilius.

A. R. 82.
Ant. C.
670.
Dionys.
l. 3. p. 236.
Liv. l. 1.
c. 22.

AFTER Numa's death and a short interregnum, the People elected for King Tullus Hostilius. The choice was confirmed by the Senate, and received with universal approbation. He was originally of Medullia, a city built by the Albans, and made a Roman colony by Romulus, after he had reduced it to his obedience. His grandfather Hostus Hostilius, who, as we have seen, signalized himself in the battle against Tatius, wherein he was slain, was noted for his riches and birth, and after his settlement, married a Sabine, daughter of Hersilia, the same that advised her country-women to throw themselves between the two armies, to reconcile the Romans with the Sabines.

As soon as Tullus was seated in the throne, he begins his reign with a memorable act that gained him the heart of the tradesmen and poor. The two Kings his predecessors enjoyed a large and fertile field, as part of the royal demesnes ; the income of which was applied to the charges of their sacrifices and of their table. Tullus suffered it to be divided among those
that

that had no lands, saying his own patrimony was more than sufficient for all his expences.

At the same time, for the sake of those who had no dwelling-place, he inclosed mount Cœlius within the circuit of the city of Rome. There all the Romans that had no houses, built themselves a habitation. He himself fixed his palace there, and some of the principal citizens settled there also. Nothing else remarkable was done by Tullus in civil affairs during the peace.

Peace was not, during his reign, the object of his wishes. Far from being in that respect like his predecessor Numa, he showed a greater ardor for war than Romulus himself. His age, his strong constitution, his grandfather's fame, all inspired him with a martial courage. Persuaded that a long and ignoble ease would infallibly weaken and enervate the Romans, he impatiently waited an opportunity to rouse them to arms. An opportunity quickly offered. Cluilius, dictator of Alba, jealous of the prosperous condition of Rome, secretly commissioned some persons of no note to pillage in the Roman territory, in hopes it might produce a breach between the two nations. What he wished came to pass. The injured parties instantly flew to revenge; and Cluilius, attentive to the success of his stratagem, persuaded his countrymen, that what was really but a reprisal, was an insult, and deserved a chastisement by arms. And to give this rupture a face of justice, before a declaration of war, he induced the Albans to send ambassadors and demand satisfaction for the injury. Hostilius, at least as subtle as his enemy, whose artifice he discovered, received the ambassadors with a civility that beguiled them; and detaining them on various pretences, gained sufficient time to send, without their knowledge, his ambassadors to Alba to complain of the breach of the peace, and demand a reparation proportionable to the damage. Cluilius answered with all the haughtiness of a man resolutely bent upon war. After the return of the Roman ambassadors,

Hostilius

Liv. l. 1.
c. 22 --- 26.
Dionys.
l. 3. p. 136
—160.

Hostilius gave audience to the Albans, complained of their master's proud answer, and declared, since they desired war, he first proclaimed it, and bid them expect to see it forthwith begun.

A. R. 85.
Ant. C.
667.

Both sides immediately took the field. The Albans encamped within five miles of Rome, in a place called afterwards Fossa Cluilia, or Cluilius's ditch. Shortly after, Cluilius was found dead in his tent, without any appearance of the cause. He was succeeded in the command by Metius Suffetius, who, before an engagement, was willing to try some way of accommodation. Advice that some neighbouring cities intended to attack them whilst engaged, and to fall alike upon the conquerors and conquered, inclined him to that expedient. Tullus refused not a conference, though he expected it to be fruitless. An interview was agreed on, at an equal distance from the two camps. The two generals were present, attended by the principal officers of their respective armies.

Liv. 1. 1.
C. 22.

The Alban spoke first in this manner: "I know Cluilius alledged for ground of this war the damages received from Rome, and the refusal of the satisfaction required: and I question not, O Tullus, but the same things will be urged on your side: but if, instead of deceiving ourselves with specious pretences, we speak the truth, it will be owned that ambition and a thirst of empire excite to arms two nations united both by neighbourhood and blood. Whether justly or not I shall not determine: that consideration belongs to the author of the war: for the management of which the Albans have since placed me at the head of their troops. But of one thing, O Tullus, I cannot help putting you in mind. You know how formidable are the Heturians, by whom we are surrounded: and this you know, as being nearer to them, better than we do. They are powerful at land, and more so at sea. Remember, the moment the signal of battle shall be given, they will become spectators, and not fail to attack with advantage

“ vantage the conquerors and conquered, equally
 “ weakened and exhausted by the length of the fight.
 “ Wherefore, in the name of the Gods, since, not
 “ content with the liberty we enjoy, we desire to run
 “ the hazard of empire or servitude, let us devise a
 “ way, by which, without much loss of blood, the
 “ lot of both nations may be decided.” The proposal was not disliked by Tullus, though his natural temper and hopes of victory inclined him more to a battle. Whilst they were uncertain of the method to be taken, chance pointed out a way which fixed their doubt.

There were, in each army, three brothers *, of equal age and strength, called the Horatii and Curiatii. The general opinion (for authors vary) is, that the Horatii were on the side of the Romans. Both accepted with joy a choice so honourable to them, and so envied by many others. Time and place were agreed on, and by a solemn treaty between the Romans and Albans, the nation to whom the victors belonged, should command and govern the other by equitable laws (1).

The treaty being concluded †, the three brothers of each side take arms according to the agreement. Whilst each nation exhort their champions manfully to perform their duty, by representing to them, that

* Dionysius Halicarnassensis says plainly, the three brothers on each side were born at one birth. Livy's expression, trigemini fratres, is not repugnant to that sense: but I believe it may also be understood simply of three brothers. The two words trigeminus and tergeminus, used indifferently by authors, signify sometimes three twins, sometimes simply three. Dionysius also says, the Horatii and Curiatii were sisters children, daughters of Sequinius an Alban, of whom one was married to Curiatius of Alba, and the other to Horatius of Rome.

(1) This treaty, which served for pattern to almost all the Roman treaties, is described by Livy, Lib. 1. c. 26.

† *Fœdere iſto, trigemini, ſicut convenerat, arma capiunt. Cùm ſui utroſque adhortarentur, deos patrios, patriam ac parentes, quicquid civium domi, quicquid in exercitu ſit, illorum tunc arma, illorum intueri manus: feroces & ſuapte ingenio, & pleni adhortantium vocibus, in medium inter duas acies procedunt. Confederant utrinq̃ue pro caſtris duo exercitus, periculi magis præſentis quàm curæ expertes: quiope imperium agebatur, in tam paucorum virtute atque fortuna poſitum. Itaque ergo erecti ſuſpenſique in minimè gratum ſpectaculum animo intenduntur.*

the tutelar Gods of Rome or Alba, their country, their parents, their friends and fellow-citizens, have their eyes fixed upon their arms and hands; these generous combatants, of themselves full of courage, and besides animated by such strong exhortations, advance between the two armies. They were both drawn up round the field of battle, free indeed from the present danger, but not from anxiety, because empire was at stake, the fate of which was committed to so small a number of combatants. Possessed with these thoughts, and solicitous about the event, they applied their whole attention to a fight which was by no means agreeable to them.

The signal is given *, and the brave heroes, showing in them fix the courage of two armies, fiercely advance against one another. Insensible of their own danger, they consider only that of their country, which they are going by their victory to crown with dominion, or by their defeat to reduce to servitude. As soon as the clashing of their arms was heard, and their burnished swords seen, the spectators, seized with fear and alarm, and suspending even their hopes for one side or the other, stood so motionless, that they seemed to have lost the very power of speaking or breathing.

After the combat was begun †, not only the motion of the bodies and the brandishings of the weapons, but the blood and wounds also, became a spectacle.

* Datur signum, infestisque armis, velut acies, terni juvenes, magnorum exercituum animos gerentes, concurrunt. Nec his, nec illis, periculum suum; publicum imperium servitiumque obversatur animo, futuraque ea deinde patriæ fortuna quam ipsi fecissent. Ut primo statim concursu increpuere arma, micantesque fulsere gladii, horror ingens spectantes perstringit: & neutrò inclinata spe, torpebat vox spiritusque.

† Consertis deinde manibus, cum jam non motus tantum corporum, agitatioque anceps telorum armorumque, sed vulnera quoque & sanguis spectaculo essent; duo Romani, super alium alius, vulneratis tribus Albanis, expirantes corruerunt. Ad quorum casum cum conclamasset gaudio Albanus exercitus, Romanas legiones jam spes tota, nondum tamen cura, deseruerat, exanimes vice unius, quem tres Curiatii circumsteterant. Fortè is integer fuit, ut universis solus nequaquam par, sic adversus singulos ferox. Ergo, ut segregaret pugnam eorum, cepisset fugam, ita ratus secuturos, ut quemque vulnerare affectum corpus sineret.

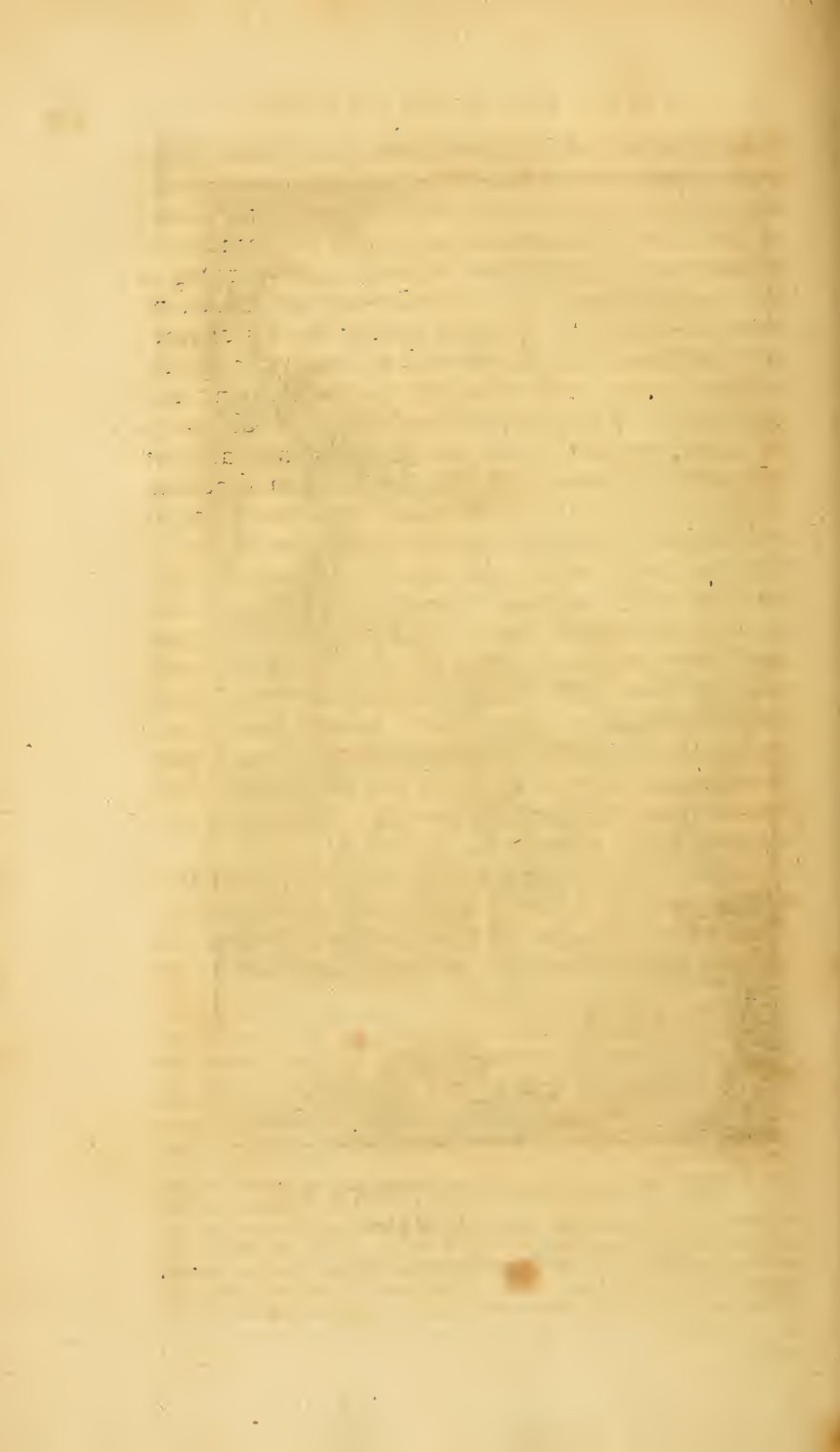


H. Goussier delin. et sculp.

J. P. L. B. sculp.

*The Combat between the HORATII
and the CURIATII.*

Published Nov. 16th 1739, by J. & P. Knapton.



Two Romans fell dead at the feet of the Albans, who were wounded all three. The fall of the two Horatii was instantly followed by the loud and joyful shouts of the Alban army, whilst the Roman legions remained without hope, but not without anxiety, being in the utmost pain for the single Roman surrounded by the three Curiatii. By good fortune he was unhurt; and therefore, though too weak to encounter all together, he was more than able to stand against any one singly. To separate his enemies, he artfully takes to flight, persuaded they would follow him more or less swiftly, according as their wounds would permit.

He was now * at some distance from the place of combat, when looking back he sees the Curiatii a good way from each other, and one very near him. He turns upon him with all his force, and whilst the Alban army cry to his brothers to assist him, Horatius, now conqueror of this first enemy, flies to a second victory. Then the Romans animate their champion with shouts, such as flow from a sudden and unexpected joy; whilst he himself earnestly strives to put an end to the second combat. So before the other, who was not far off, could come up, he lays his enemy dead on the ground.

There remained † but one on each side: but if the number was equal, the strength and hope were not so. The Roman without wound, and flushed with a double victory, boldly advanced to the third combat. The

* Jam aliquantum spatii ex eo loco, ubi pugnatum est, aufugerat, cum respiciens videt magnis intervallis sequentes; unum haud procul ab se habere: in eum magno impetu redit. Et dum Albanus exercitus inclamat Curiatiis, ut opem ferant fratri, jam Horatius caeso hoste victor secundam pugnam petebat. Tum clamore, qualis ex insperato faventium solet, Romani adjuvant militem suum: & ille defungi prælio festinat. Prius itaque quam alter, qui nec procul aberat, consequi posset, & alterum Curiatium conficit.

† Jamque æquato Marte singuli supererant, sed nec spe nec viribus pares. Alterum intactum ferro corpus, & geminata victoria ferocem in certamen tertium dabant: alter fessum vulnere, fessum cursu trahens corpus, victusque fratrum ante se strage, victori objicitur hosti. Nec illud prælium fuit. Romanus exultans: Duos, inquit, fratrum Manibus dedi: tertium causæ belli hujusce, ut Romanus Albano imperet, dabo. Malè sustinenti arma gladium superne jugulo desigit: jacentem spoliat.

other, on the contrary, weakened with loss of blood, and spent with running, hardly crawls along; and already vanquished by the death of his brothers just slain before his face, like a defenceless victim offers his throat to the conqueror's sword. Accordingly this was no combat. Horatius, triumphing beforehand, "I have sacrificed, says he, the two first to the
 "manes of my brothers: by the sacrifice of the third
 "to my country, I will put an end to the quarrel of
 "two nations, and acquire for Rome dominion over
 "the Albans." Curiatius could scarce lift up his arms: the conqueror buries his sword in his bosom, and then seizes his spoils.

The Romans * receive Horatius in their camp with a joy and gratitude proportionable to the danger they had run. Then both sides prepare to bury their dead, but with very different thoughts: the Romans being become lords of their adversaries, and the Albans subject to a foreign dominion. The tombs of the Horatii and Curiatii were to be seen in Livy's time, in the field where each fell: two of the Romans in one place near Alba; three of the Albans towards Rome, but at some distance from one another, according to the place where they fought.

Before the separation of the armies, Metius, pursuant to the treaty, asked the Roman king what commands he had for him. Tullus ordered him to keep his troops ready to serve against the Veientes, if occasion: after which the two armies parted.

Horatius marched in the head of the Romans, loaded with the triple spoils he had so gloriously obtained. His sister, promised in marriage to one of the Curiatii, came out to meet him at Porta Capena (1). Perceiving on her brother's shoulders a military robe wrought with her own hands, and presented by her to her fu-

Paluda-
mentum.

* Romani ovantes ac gratulantes Horatium accipiunt: eo majore cum gaudio, quo prope metum res fuerat. Ad sepulturam inde suorum nequaquam paribus animis vertuntur: quippe imperio alteri aucti, alteri ditionis alienæ facti.

(1) One of the gates of Rome, so called because the way to Capua lay through it.

ture spouse, she rent her cloaths, beats her breast, sheds a torrent of tears, calls with mournful accents upon her lover's name, and looking upon her brother with eyes sparkling with rage, says to him, "Thou triumphest, O monster of men, thou applaudest thyself for having deprived me of a spouse, the sole object of my affection. Wretch that thou art! thou gloriest in thy crime, and covered with the blood of my Curiatius, thou mockest my grief!" The young conqueror, equally offended with his sister's lamentations and reproaches in the midst of the public joy and his triumph, stabs her in the transport of his passion with these words: "Go, unnatural sister, forgetful of thy brothers and country, go with thy untimely love to thy spouse. Thus let every Roman perish that laments an enemy of Rome!"

This deed seemed enormous to the Senate and People, but the lustre of the recent victory pleaded for the offender. The King, unwilling to meddle with so hateful an affair, left it to the Duumviri (2), appointed for that purpose. The case being plain, they could not but condemn him to die. The Licor was going to execute the sentence, and the punishment would have immediately followed his triumph, if [by the King's advice Horatius had not appealed to the People, and] his father had not come into the assembly to plead his cause. He maintained that the deed was not to be deemed murder but a just vengeance: that he was father to the brother and sister, and consequently the proper judge of his domestic affairs: that if he had thought his son criminal, he would have used his paternal power to punish him. Then having recourse to intreaties, he conjured the People to pity an unfortunate father, and not render him childless, whom they had a little before seen blest'd with so excellent a progeny. "What! O Romans (continues he) can you see this brave warrior, who a few hours

(2) That is, two Commissioners named by the King. The first Duumviri, properly so called, were appointed to keep the Sibylline Oracles under Tarquinius Superbus.

“ since walked in your sight glorious and triumphant,
 “ after so important a victory ; can you see him bound
 “ to an infamous stake, expiring amidst scourgings
 “ and torments ? A sight which the Albans them-
 “ selves would hardly be able to bear ! Go, Lictor,
 “ bind those victorious hands which have so lately ac-
 “ quired empire for the Roman people. Veil the
 “ head of the deliverer of this city (1). Scourge him
 “ either within the Pomœrium, so it be done amidst
 “ the spoils obtained by his valour ; or without the
 “ Pomœrium, so it be done among the tombs of the
 “ Curiatii. For (added he speaking to the people)
 “ which way can you lead this young hero, that he
 “ find not in the monuments of his glory a protection
 “ against the ignominy of punishment ?”

The people could not hold out either against the tears of the father, or the steadiness of the son, proof against all manner of danger. Horatius appeared at his trial with the same firmness of mind that he had shown in his combat with the Curiatii. The people thought that on account of so great a service, the rigour of the law might be a little forgot. He was therefore acquitted rather out of admiration of his bravery, than conviction of the justice of his cause. But not to leave the son's crime wholly unpunished, the father was fined for him, and the son made to pass under the yoke ; which consisted of two posts with a third laid across on the top (like a door-case). The yoke was called *Sororium tigillum*, or the Sister's Rafter. It was annually repaired, and still subsisted in Livy's time. A tomb was raised for Horatius's sister in the place she was killed.

A. R. 87.
 Ant. C.
 665.
 Dionys.
 l. 3. p. 160
 ---172.
 Liv. l. 1.
 c. 27---30.

The peace with the Albans did not hold long. Metius, (who was accused by the Albans of misde-
 meanors during the war, in committing the fate of the
 whole nation to the arms of the three Curiatii, and

(1) In cases of treason the law was : “ Let two Commissioners be appointed for state-crimes. If the criminal appeal from the sentence, let his appeal be received. If the sentence is confirmed, let him be veiled or hoodwinked, and hanged upon a cursed tree, after having been scourged either within or without the Pomœrium.”

whom

whom they began to suspect of treachery, because he had enjoyed the Dictatorship three years by Tullus's interest) to recover the esteem and confidence of his citizens, conceived the blackest and most perfidious design imaginable. He privately sent to the enemies of Rome, who were still considering of an open revolt, to persuade them to throw off the yoke and declare themselves instantly; and promised them, in the heat of the battle to turn his arms against the Romans. Upon this assurance, the Fidenates, seconded by their allies the Veientes, take the field. Tullus, having long foreseen this storm, advances against the enemy with his own and the forces of Alba, passes the Teverone, and encamps near Fidenæ, where he finds the army of the Fidenates joined by their allies. Nothing more was done that day.

On the morrow, the Fidenates and their allies came out of their camp at sun-rising, and drew up in battle-array. The Romans did the same. Tullus took his post in the left wing of the Romans, opposite to the right wing of the enemies, where stood the Veientes. Metius commanded the right wing composed of the Albans, drawn up along the river, facing the Fidenates, who formed the left wing. When the two armies were within reach of the darts, the Albans retired from the rest of the army to the top of the hill, where they stood in order of battle, as if they had been a body of reserve. Metius's design, who was no braver than honest, was to stand neuter during the fight, and to side with the conquerors. This motion surprised the Romans that were nearest, and that saw their flank naked by the unexpected retreat of the Albans. The same instant a horseman brings Tullus the news, who with the choice of his cavalry was beginning to put the enemy in disorder. At this report the Romans were frightened, and seeing the Albans on the hill, imagined they were going to be surrounded on all sides. Tullus, without shewing any concern at this cross accident, secretly vows to establish twelve Salii, and build temples to Paleness and Fear; and

Pallor &
then Pavor.

then cries out loud enough to be heard by the enemies, There is no reason to be frightened, for that the Albans are retiring to the hill by his command, to attack the Fidenates in the rear. At the same time he gives order for the horse to hold up all their lances, which hindered great part of the foot from seeing the retreat of the Albans. This stratagem saved Tullus's army. The Romans, at their King's voice, resumed their courage, and with a loud shout vigorously charged the enemies. The Fidenates, believing themselves betrayed by Metius, quickly gave way, and fled in disorder to Fidenæ. Tullus detached after them his cavalry, who completed their dispersion, and returned immediately against the Veientes, who were defending themselves with great bravery and success. But when they heard of the defeat of their left wing, and flight of the Fidenates, fearing to be surrounded they dispersed, and turned to the Tyber for a passage. Many, quitting their arms, threw themselves into the water, where great numbers were drowned. Others, whilst they were considering on the banks whether they should fight or fly, were attacked by the Romans and entirely routed. The victory was complete, and the battle had been the most obstinate and bloody yet fought. Metius, at the end of the action, had joined the Romans and pursued the enemies. At his return he congratulates Tullus upon his happy success. Tullus dissembles, and shows no resentment. The two armies, by his order, join to offer the next day a common sacrifice as a thanksgiving, and in the mean time give themselves up to rejoicing.

Tullus, fully informed of all the circumstances of the treachery, goes in the night with his most trusty friends to Rome, where he arrives before mid-night. Immediately he sends for all the Senators, tells them what had happened, lays before them the measures he thinks proper to be taken for punishing Metius, and disabling the Albans to make the like attempts for the future. His advice is generally approved. At going out of the Council he remounts his horse, and

and as Rome was but five miles from Fidenæ, comes back to the camp before day-light. He sends for Horatius, the same by whose victory over the Curiatii the Albans had been brought under subjection; and orders him to march directly to Alba with the choice of the horse and foot, and instructs him what to do.

Mean time, after he had privately taken all the necessary measures for executing his design, he assembles the armies. The Albans came first, and stood as near the King as they could to hear his speech. They were without arms: for among these antient nations, the soldiers, even in the camp, wore not their arms except when they were going to use them, which is one reason why duelling was not practised among them. The Roman legion stood round the Albans, and inclosed the assembly. The soldiers were ordered to come with their swords under their cloaths. When silence was made, Tullus began in this manner: “ Romans, (says he) if ever in any
“ war you had reason first to thank the Gods for their
“ protection, and then yourselves for your own bravery, it was certainly in yesterday’s action. For
“ you had to contend not only with the forces of your
“ enemies, but what is much more dangerous and
“ formidable, with the treachery and perfidiousness
“ of your allies. For to undeceive you, it was not
“ by my orders that the Albans retired to the hills.
“ I suffered you to believe, and even declared with a
“ loud voice, that it was my command, to prevent
“ your taking alarm at being deserted, and to spread
“ terror among the enemies, who thought themselves
“ going to be attacked in the rear. Nor is this
“ crime to be imputed to all the Albans. They followed their leader, as you would have done, had
“ I given you the like orders. Metius drew them
“ after him: Metius is the contriver of this war:
“ Metius is the violator of the Roman and Alban
“ treaty. I give others leave to follow his steps, if I
“ do not make him a notorious example to all mortals.”

“tals.” At that instant Metius was surrounded by some armed centurions, and the King thus continued his speech. “For the benefit, prosperity, and happiness of the Roman people, for my own and for yours too, O Albans, I am resolved to remove all the inhabitants of Alba to Rome; to make the common people citizens, and the rest Senators: in a word, to unite the two nations in one city, in one commonwealth: that, as Alba formerly made two nations of one, she may now return to unity.” The Albans, at these words, were variously agitated in their minds: but, as they saw themselves defenceless, and surrounded with armed soldiers, their fear kept them silent. Tullus resuming his discourse, and turning to Metius: “If you could (says he) learn to be true to your word and treaties, I would suffer you to live, and instruct you myself. But as your disposition is incurable, you shall by your punishment teach mankind to hold those things sacred and inviolable, which by you have been infringed. As therefore in yesterday’s action you kept your mind divided between Rome and Fidenæ, so shall you now give your body to be divided and torn asunder.” Then he orders him to be fastened by his hands and legs to two chariots drawn by four horses, and so to be torn in pieces. The spectators could not bear so horrible a sight, but turned away their eyes. This was the first and last punishment among the Romans, wherein the laws of humanity were so little regarded. In all other instances they could boast that no nation ever used less severity in punishing offenders*.

Whilst these things passed in the camp, Horatius had begun to execute his commission against Alba, after notifying to the Albans the order of King and Senate. The Roman legions were sent presently after to demolish the city. They were commanded to

* *Primum ultimumque illud supplicium apud Romanos exemplum parum memoris legum humanarum fuit. In aliis gloriari licet, nulli gentium mitiores placuisse poenas. Liv. l. 1. c. 28.*

pull down to the ground the walls, houses, and public edifices, except the temples, with a prohibition to misuse any person, or hinder the people from carrying away what they pleased. The soldiers, deaf to representations and prayers, demolish the walls and the buildings. Melancholy event, and singular in its kind ! There was not that tumult and confusion as are seen in a city taken by storm, when the conquerors, breaking open the gates, or battering down the walls, or forcing the citadel, spread themselves through every quarter, and with dreadful cries destroy all with fire and sword. A sad silence, caused by grief and despair, prevailed through the whole city. The unfortunate inhabitants, forgetting in their confusion what to take and what to leave, asked one another, equally incapable of giving or receiving advice. One while they stood as motionless at the door of their houses, which they could not bear to quit ; another while they ran over them in distraction only to see them for the last time. But when they were pressed by the soldiers to come out, when they now heard from the farthest parts of the city the noise of the falling houses, when the dust raised from different quarters covered all as with a thick cloud, they hastily began to carry away what they could, relinquishing with extreme grief their household-gods, and the places of their birth and education. The streets were filled with a long train of citizens weeping and lamenting. The mutual sight of their calamities, by a natural sentiment of compassion, increased their tears. Lamentations and mournful cries were heard, especially of the women, when passing by the temples, they saw them surrounded with soldiers, and left their Gods as it were captives. When they were all out, the Roman soldiers levelled to the ground all the buildings public and private, except the temples, which they were ordered to spare. Thus the work of near five hundred years, the time Alba had stood, was entirely destroyed in one hour.

Rome, by the destruction of Alba, was considerably increased. The number of citizens was doubled.

Then

Then it was that mount *Coelius* was added to the city. The principal *Albans* were admitted among the *Patricians*; and filled what places were vacant in the Senate: the *Tullii*, *Servitii*, *Quintii*, *Geganii*, *Curiatii*, *Clœlii*.

Assemblies, in general, impatiently bear an augmentation of their number, because it cannot be done without diminishing the power and credit of the particular members. The Roman Senate had much nobler views. The public interest was the *primum mobile* of that august assembly. On the present occasion, the Senators were attentive, not only to increase the number of the citizens by new subjects, but to bind them together, to render them well affected to the state, to reconcile them to their new situation, to repair their losses, and ease their grief at leaving their native country. By these methods, full of a prudent foresight, and little known among other nations, Rome by degrees advanced to the power and grandeur designed her by Providence.

Turmæ. Ten new troops of horse were also formed out of the *Albans*, and the old legions were proportionably augmented. Thus every order of the state received some addition from the new-comers.

Dionys.
l. 3. p. 172. Tullus let his forces be quiet all the winter; and early in the spring led them against the *Fidenates*. They had the boldness to withstand the Romans, who were much superior both in number and valour. Accordingly the war was neither difficult nor long. After the loss of a battle, the *Fidenates* fled to their city. Tullus besieged it, and pressed them so vigorously, that they were forced to surrender at discretion. Absolute master of *Fidenæ*, he was satisfied with punishing the most seditious, and restored the city to its ancient liberty.

A. R. 100. He met with greater resistance from the *Sabines*,
Ant. C. the most powerful nation of the country next to the
652.
Liv. l. 1. *Hetrurians*. The cause of this new war was mutual
c. 50. injuries complained of on both sides, and refusal of
Dionys. satisfaction demanded. This war lasted some years,
p. 173--- and
175.

and was waged with great animosity. Several bloody battles were fought with almost equal success. At length, in the last battle, the Sabines, obliged to give way, were entirely routed, and pursued in their flight with great slaughter. The Romans got their spoils, plundered their camp, and loaded with booty, returned triumphant to Rome.

This expedition was followed by a war with the Latines. What occasioned a quarrel between Rome and the Latine cities, ancient colonies of Alba, was their refusal to submit to the Roman dominion. Fifteen years after the destruction of Alba, Tullus summoned by ambassadors the thirty colonies formerly dependent on Alba, to acknowledge the sovereignty of the Romans, pretending, that as lords of the Albans, they were entitled to all the rights of a nation subjected and incorporated with Rome. Here plainly appears the genius and character of the Roman people. Advantageously settled in a country, where they had been received, as I may say, by mere courtesy and a precarious title, they imitate not the rest of the nations, who, content with their respective territories, had no thoughts of subduing or incroaching upon their neighbours. The Romans, one would think, had even then a secret foresight of their future greatness, and believed themselves destined to become one day lords of all other nations.

It is very visible, Tullus's summons could not but extremely displease the Latines; and accordingly was the ground of the war between them and the Romans; which lasted five years: but was a war after the antient manner, carried on with great moderation. There were no great armies drawn up to destroy one another by bloody battles. There were no cities taken or brought into subjection, or reduced to the last extremities. They were satisfied with making inroads on one another's lands during harvest, and the country once pillaged, each side returned to their homes, after a mutual exchange of prisoners. Medullia, a Latine city, where the Romans, in Romulus's reign, had

A. R. 102.
Ant. C.
650.
Dionys.
l. 3. p. 175.

had sent a colony, for a second revolt, and taking part with their nation, was the only place besieged by the Roman king. He easily took it, and so managed that it never more thought of rebelling. No other mischiefs usually attending on war, was felt all that time, either by the Romans or Latines: which was the reason that both sides, less incensed against each other, were the more inclined to a peace.

Liv. l. 1.
c. 31.

Some time after its conclusion, information was brought to the King and the Senate, that it rained stones on the Alban-hill. A voice also seemed to be heard, injoining the Albans to use in their sacrifices their own country-rites, which had been laid aside since their union with the Romans, as if in quitting their country they had also quitted their Gods. In consequence of this prodigy, sacrifices were ordered for nine days; and the same custom was ever after observed on the like occasion.

Ibid.
Dionys.
l. 3. p. 176.

About the same time, a more real evil, I mean the plague, afflicted the city of Rome. This disease deadened the courage and hands of the soldiers, so that they had no heart to take up arms, and renew their military exercises. But Tullus, who breathed nothing but war, and believed that motion and exercise were best for their health, gave them no respite till he himself was seized with the sickness. As it was long and obstinate, it so humbled the courage and fierceness of Tullus, who had hitherto thought it a weakness unworthy a king to mind the ceremonies and observances of religion, that becoming on a sudden another man, as is usually the case with persons of that turn, he gave up himself to the lowest and most childish superstitions. As for the generality of the Romans, the antient reverence for the Deity revived through the city. Returning to the same spirit that prevailed under Numa, they found no other remedy for their present calamity but recourse to the Gods, and appeasing their wrath with sacrifices.

A. R. 113.
Ant. C.
639.

As it is customary to embellish the death of princes with something extraordinary, it is said, the king having

ing shut himself up, after Numa's example, to perform certain occult and private sacrifices, wherein he observed not the ceremonies enjoined, Jupiter offended at his mistaken religion, darted his lightning upon him, by which he and his whole family were consumed. His death is also related some other ways, and Ancus Martius is thought to have been concerned in it. Tullus reigned thirty-two years. He was a prince of singular merit for war, and cannot be sufficiently praised for his presence of mind in battle, and prudence in the greatest dangers. But the Latine historians blame him for too strong an inclination for arms, and for his neglect, and afterwards superstitious regard, of religion.

CHAP. IV.

The REIGN of ANCUS MARTIUS.

Ancus Martius restores the divine worship, neglected under his predecessor. He is engaged in several wars against his will, and always comes off with advantage. He enlarges Rome by taking in mount Aventine: Builds Ostia: Walls in the Janiculum. Lucumo, native of Tarquinii, and originally of Corinth, settles at Rome, with his wife Tanaquil, gains the favour of King and People, and takes the name of Lucius Tarquin. Death of Ancus.

AFTER a short interregnum, the People chose A. R. 114. Ancus Martius King, grandson of Numa by Ant. C. 638. his daughter Pompilia, and his election was confirmed Liv. l. 1. by the Senate. The new King, finding many of the C. 32, 33. sacrifices formerly instituted by his grandfather had Dionys. l. 3. p. 177. been neglected, and the Romans, for the most part, —183. instead of cultivating their lands, were seeking only to enrich themselves by plunder, assembled the People, and represented the necessity of reviving the same zeal for the service of the Gods as was shewn under Numa; alledging, that the contempt of their worship

ship had drawn down upon Rome, plagues, pestilences, and numberless calamities; that the only remedy was to resume their former practices, and apply themselves, as heretofore, to the culture of their lands, and the care of their flocks. This speech was received with great applause and universal approbation.

Ancus, before all things, laboured the restoration and observance of his grandfather's wise institutions concerning religion. To that end he sent for the Pontifices, and received from their hands Numa's written prescriptions about the sacrifices. He transcribed them upon oaken boards, (for brass was not yet used for that purpose) and hung them up in the Forum for all the people to read. He also caused to flourish agriculture and husbandry. He sent out of the city all the idle people, and revived in all the farms ardour and diligence, by commending the industrious and rebuking the negligent: Cares worthy a good King and wise administration!

These happy beginnings promised a peaceable reign. But he had scarce ended these domestic regulations, when the Latines, who had made an alliance with Rome under Tullus, filled the country on all sides with bands of robbers, imagining that Ancus's aversion for war sprung from pusillanimity and want of experience. They considered him as a pious and devout prince, that would spend his whole reign in temples, amidst altars and sacrifices. They were mistaken. Ancus * partook of Numa's and Romulus's genius, and qualified the one by the other, as occasion required. He perceived that pacific measures were necessary for his grandfather's reign, over a nation newly formed, and still fierce and unpolished. The times were altered. It was not safe for him to remain in quiet, according to his natural inclination.

* Medium erat in Anco ingenium, & Numæ & Romuli memor: &, præterquàm quòd avi regno magis necessarium fuisse pacem credebat, cum in novo tum feroci populo; etiam, quod illi contigisset otium, sine injuria id se haud facile habiturum. Tentari patientiam, & tentatam contemni; temperaque esse Tullo regi aptiora, quàm Numæ.
Liv. l. 1. c. 32.

He plainly saw his patience would be tried, and carried too far would be contemned; and that the present juncture required rather a Tullus than a Numa. He therefore resolved upon war.

But to have right on his side, and gain the protection of heaven by the justice of his cause, and equity of his proceedings, he began with trying methods of accommodation. He sent his complaints to the Latines by ambassadors, and demanded satisfaction for the acts of hostility committed on his territory. The Latines returned in answer: "They knew nothing of what was laid to their charge; and if any disorder had happened, the mischief was done without their allowance. Besides, they acknowledged not the tribunal of Martius: and if they had any engagements with Tullus, they looked upon them as void by his death."

Then Martius proclaimed war upon them in form. The Feclialis or Herald being come on the enemy's borders, cried with a loud voice, "Hear, O Jupiter, Juno, hear O Quirinus, hear O ye celestial, terrestrial, and infernal Gods; I call you all to witness, that the Latines are unjust; and as they have injured the Roman People, by the command of the Roman People, and with the consent of the Senate, I and the Roman People declare war against them." He performed the rest of the ceremonies described in Numa's reign. By the whole form extant in Livy, it appears that no mention is made of the King, but all is transacted in the name, and by the authority of the People, that is, of the whole body of the nation. L. 1. c. 32.

After this declaration of war, Martius led his army against the Latines, and besieged Politorium before that city had time to receive aid from its allies. Upon its surrender, the King, instead of punishing, only removed the inhabitants to Rome with all their effects, and distributed them in the Tribes. Next year the Latines sent a new colony to Politorium, and they began to cultivate the lands which belonged to

it. Martius goes to attack them, and they boldly meet the Roman army, but are vanquished, and their city taken a second time. The King ordered it to be burnt, and the walls levelled, to destroy all hopes of making it again the seat of war, or the means of seizing the neighbouring lands. This expedition ended, he led back his forces to Rome.

The brunt of the war fell next upon Medullia, which was besieged by the Latines. It was a Roman colony resolutely bent to hold out to extremity. The Latines however took it by storm, and kept it three years : after which it was retaken by the Romans.

Martius had several other wars to maintain against the Sabines and other nations, who, breaking their treaties, attacked the Romans at different times. Many battles were fought, and sieges formed, wherein the Romans had generally the advantage. In the siege of Fidenæ, the King carried subterraneous mines from his camp to the walls of the city, which are the first mentioned among the Romans. In all these wars, Martius took several cities, whose inhabitants, according to the laudable custom practised from the beginning, were transplanted to Rome, and incorporated with the ancient citizens.

By this wise policy, the circuit of Rome daily increased. The old Romans first settled in what was called the Palatium : then the Sabines in the Capitol and Citadel : after that the Albans on mount Coelius. Ancus took in mount Aventine for a habitation for the conquered Latines. This hill was of a good height, and eighteen stadia in compass. Ancus believing this mount might be a place of defence against a surprize, surrounded it with a wall and a ditch.

He undertook out of the city another and much more considerable work, which brought to Rome plenty of all necessaries, and opened a way to more glorious conquests. The Tyber, which flows from the Apennine mountains, and runs along the walls of
Rome,

Rome*, discharged itself not far from the city into the Tyrrhenian sea, at a place then very incommodious, and too open for ships. Though it was navigable for large river-boats, and could even carry merchant-ships from the sea to Rome; yet it was of little use to the city, for want of a safe port. Ancus, to promote trade, found means to contrive a harbour, very commodious, and of a good extent. From that time large merchantmen easily entered the mouth of the Tyber, and were brought to Rome with the help of oars or ropes. When the ship was deep laden, she came to an anchor, and the merchandizes were conveyed in boats. Ancus improved also a narrow piece of land lying between the sea and the Tyber in the shape of an angle: there he built a city which he fortified, and named Ostia, from its situation†. From Rome to the sea is about sixteen miles. Ostia was between Rome and the mouth of the Tyber, about three miles from the sea.

Eutr.
l. 1.
Cluver.

Ancus likewise digged salt-pits on the sea-shore, and distributed among the people ten thousand bushels of the salt. These largesses were called Congiaria (1), and became very common in process of time. Ancus moreover walled in the Janiculum, a high hill beyond the Tyber, and placed there a strong garrison for the security of the water-trade against the robberies of the Hetrurians, who possessed all the country on the other side the Tyber. For a communication between this new place and the city, he built over the river a timber-bridge, of an extraordinary make, whose parts were held together without being linked with iron. The Pontifices‡ were appointed to keep up and repair the bridge.

Liv. l. 1.
c. 33.
Plin. l. 3 r.
c. 7.

* It is not so now. Rome is built on both sides the Tyber. But then it lay only on the left side. The right belonged to Hetruria.

† Ostium signifies a door or entrance. This town was called Ostia, because it was at the entrance of the port.

(1) So called from congius, a Roman measure of about an English gallon.

‡ 'Tis thought the name Pontifex came from this commission to make or repair the bridges which was committed to them.

He enlarged the Pomœrium, that is, the space between the walls and the country. By which name the space also between the walls and the houses was called.

In proportion to the increase of inhabitants, was also that of licentiousness; and severity became the more necessary. Ancus, to check the audaciousness of malefactors, and frighten with the terror of punishment those who were not restrained by the laws, built a prison in the middle of the city, in view of the whole Forum.

A.R. 121.

Ant. C.

631.

Liv. l. 1.

c. 34.

Dionys.

l. 3. p. 184

—186.

In the reign of Ancus Martius there came and settled at Rome a stranger called Lucumo. His father Damaratus was of Corinth, and of the race of the Bacchiades, the most powerful of the country, and which had long held there the first rank. He had amassed immense riches by his commerce with the cities of Hetruria, the wealthiest of Italy. A sedition raised at Corinth by Cypselus, who usurped the government, forced him from thence, because he was not safe. He brought away with him all his money and goods, came to Tarquinii one of the most flourishing cities of Hetruria, and married a wife of the first quality. He had by her two sons, Aruns and Lucumo. By the death of his brother Aruns, Lucumo became sole heir to his father's great riches, and espoused Tanaquil, a lady of high birth, who impatiently bore that the family she was married into should be inferior in power to that wherein she was born*. Seeing her husband little respected at Tarquinii because he was a stranger, better wife than citizen she resolved to quit her birth-place, deeming that her country where her husband should be honoured. Rome seemed to her a proper scene to act the part she designed. She flattered herself that in a new-founded city, where merit makes nobility, it would be easy for Lucumo, with his great accomplishments, to attain the highest dignities. The ex-

* Summo loco nata, & quæ haud facile iis in quibus nata erat, humiliora sineret ea quæ innupisset. Liv.

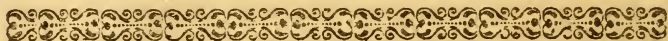
ample of the foreigners who had reigned there, enlivened her hopes. She readily persuaded her husband, who was no less ambitious, and native of Tarquinii only by the mother's side. They departed therefore to Rome with all their effects. When they came to the Janiculum, an eagle (as the report goes) with spread wings gently descending over the chariot, in which he was sitting with his wife, takes away his hat : then flying some time round the chariot with a loud noise, sets it again on his head. Every one sees, without my remarking, what is to be thought of such a story. Tanaquil, educated according to her country custom in the knowledge of auspices, tenderly embraces her husband, and declares to him that by this extraordinary event the Gods clearly promise him the future sovereignty of Rome.

Full of these thoughts and expectations, they enter Rome. Lucumo took the name of Lucius, with the surname of Tarquinius, which showed the place of his birth. The great wealth of this foreigner, and the magnificence of his retinue, a new sight at Rome, attracted immediately the eyes of the whole city ; but quickly after, their attention was entirely engrossed by his person, and his rare endowments procured him an universal esteem. His affability and easiness of access, his agreeable and courteous behaviour to all the world, his natural inclination to oblige, his forwardness, though without pride or ostentation, to relieve the distressed, gained him all hearts. How glorious is it, but how rare, to make such use of riches, which yet alone can render them valuable ! Perhaps his liberality was not wholly disinterested.

Nothing but Lucumo was talked of at Rome. The fame of his virtues and bounties reached the Court, and bred in the King a desire to know him. He lost nothing by a close view. Ancus confessed his merit far excelled his reputation. He put him to the trial, and found him fit for all things. He discharged with a wonderful dexterity and readiness all

the offices conferred on him by the King. He shined in Council by the wisdom of his advice, which was always followed. He was no less distinguished in the field by his courage and prudence. And what is still more admirable than all the rest, he tempered the lustre of his accomplishments with so perfect a modesty, that envy never dared to attack him, but he always remained equally agreeable to the Great and the Small. The King put an unlimited confidence in him; and gave him the highest mark of it, in appointing him, by his last will, guardian to his children. Ancus died after a reign of twenty-four years. He was not inferior in merit, whether for war or for peace, to any of his predecessors.

A. R. 131.
Ant. C.
614.



CH A P. V.

The REIGN of TARQUINIUS PRISCUS.

Tarquin is declared King. Creates a hundred new Senators. Maintains several wars against his neighbours, and comes off with advantage. Tarquin's institutions during peace. Enlarges, beautifies, and strengthens the city. Makes aqueducts and drains. Builds the Circus. Lays the foundation of the Capitol. Story of Navius the Augur. Birth of Servius Tullius. Tarquin chuses him for his son-in-law. The King's death, murdered by order of Ancus Martius's sons.

THE sons of Ancus Martius were now past childhood. The eldest was fourteen years old, and consequently might obstruct Tarquin's ambitious designs, if the election of a King was delayed any time. This Tarquin knew, and therefore hastened the election to the utmost of his power. He then discovered himself to be the man he had always been inwardly in

in his heart, that is, a person whose proceedings had been all influenced by the desire of empire. This instance shows that ambition may put on the mask of virtue to attain its ends, and appear to the world modest, equitable, disinterested, beneficent. However, though these may be but false virtues, yet a state would be very happy if rulers who obtain the sovereignty by that method, would always keep the same character : which was Tarquin's case.

When the day of election was appointed, Tarquin, fearing the presence of Ancus's sons might be contrary to his views, sent them out of the way on pretence of taking the diversion of hunting. He no longer concealed his design, but by a speech proper to gain the suffrages of the people, openly sued for the crown, which none of his predecessors had ever done. Tarquin told the assembly, " what he desired was not unprecedented, since two foreigners had before him mounted the throne, Tatius and Numa; the first of whom, not only a stranger, but an enemy, was made King. Ever since he was his own master, and could dispose of himself, he had removed to Rome with his wife and all his effects. Of the time men spend in public offices, he had passed a greater part at Rome than in his own country. He had been so happy as both in war and in peace to be trained up under Ancus Martius himself, who was pleased to be his master and instructor in the Roman rites, customs, and laws. For respect and submission to the King he was second to no man, for generosity and beneficence to others not even to the King himself." This speech was the more favourably received, as it contained nothing but the truth. The People with one consent elected him King.

He began, in order to be still more popular, with choosing a hundred persons out of the Plebeian families, eminent in the profession of arms, and most conversant in state-affairs, and advanced them to the degree of Patricians and Senators. In this he consulted his own no less than the interest of the public;

A. R. 138.
Ant. C.
614.
Liv. l. 1.
C. 35.
Dionys.
l. 3. p. 186.

Liv. l. 1.
C. 35.
Dionys.
l. 3. p. 199.

for owing their advancement to him, they were so many creatures subservient to his pleasure. They were stiled *Patres minorum gentium*, to distinguish them from the Senators of the old creation, who were called *Patres majorum gentium*. Thus the Senate, hitherto consisting but of two hundred, was by this new creation increased to three hundred members; which number remained unaltered many ages. To fill thus with eminent subjects an assembly where all affairs of moment were debated and determined, was doing the republic great service. And indeed, to the wise conduct of the Senate will Rome be indebted for her grandeur. But it is very surprizing, as I have observed, and very glorious for that assembly, that an augmentation of one hundred Senators should not meet with opposition, nor breed any complaints.

Dionys.
P. 199.

Tarquin increased also the number of Vestals, whose business was to maintain the sacred fire. Numa, as we said, appointed four: Tarquin added two more, because the public sacrifices and religious ceremonies, at which the Vestals were obliged to assist, being multiplied, it was also necessary to increase the priestesses. Their number remained ever after fixed to six.

He made other regulations respecting religion, the civil government and ornament of the city, which I shall collect at the end of his reign, to prevent an interruption of the course of his many wars. I shall be very short, except when any material circumstance worthy the reader's attention shall occur.

Dionys.

L. 3. p. 186

---189.

Liv. l. 1.

c. 36-38.

It is no wonder that the neighbouring nations should with a jealous eye behold Rome grown powerful by new acquisitions, and forced by the increase of her new citizens to enlarge her bounds, and daily widen the circuit of her walls. The principal of these nations were the Latines, the Hetrurians, and the Sabines. The slightest pretence made them forget treaties and oaths extorted by necessity, and put them upon renewing wars hitherto fatal to them, but which they hoped would prove more successful. One while they

at-

attacked Rome singly and separately ; another while they strengthened themselves with the assistance of their neighbours. Their grand error, which proved their destruction, was their not joining all together at first, or at least at the time we are speaking of, against a common and very dangerous enemy, that equally threatened them all with slavery. Rome with great policy weakened them by a separation, and strengthened herself by an union of all the nations she subdued.

Ancus's death seemed to the Latines a favourable opportunity to endeavour to recover by arms some towns they had been forced to yield to the Romans. The new King, who foresaw their design, waited not their coming, but marched first against them. He took from them several places, and among the rest Collatia, five miles from Rome. He gave the government of it to his nephew Aruns Tarquinius, posthumous and only son of his brother, who had been dead many years. This Aruns, surnamed Egerius *, because he had no estate, assumed then the name of Collatinus, which descended to his posterity.

* From
egere, to
want.

There were, during this and the following campaigns, on both sides, ravages of lands, assaults of cities, frequent skirmishes, pitched battles, sometimes very bloody and obstinate, but generally favourable to the Romans, by the final success, and by the cession of many places. After a very great advantage obtained by Tarquin over the Latines, who were extremely emboldened by a strong reinforcement of Hetrurians, he marched to the conquest of the Latine towns, bent to carry by storm all that should refuse to surrender. But he was not obliged to form one siege : all threw themselves upon his clemency, and by a general deputation in the name of the republic of the Latines, sued for peace on his own conditions, and opened their gates to him. Tarquin, far from making an ill use of his victory, showed to all the cities great moderation and lenity. He put not one Latine to death ; used neither banishments nor confiscations of estates ;

made

made no alterations in their laws or their government; but obliged them only to release all their prisoners without ransom, to restore to their masters the slaves they had taken away, to give back what they had plundered from the country-people, and make them full reparation for the damages sustained by their incursions. Upon these conditions Tarquin received into his alliance and friendship the people of Latium. Thus ended a war which, with some interruption, had lasted near twenty years. The King returned to Rome loaded with glory, and made his entrance in triumph.

The next year war was kindled between the Sabines and Romans. There was fought a very sharp, but not decisive battle. The armies parted to meet again in the spring. The Sabines took the field first, supported by a considerable body of Heturians, and posted themselves near Fidenæ, at the conflux of the Tyber and Tiverone. They formed there two camps on the same line, parted only by the canal common to both rivers, over which they laid a bridge of boats for communication, and to render the two camps but one. Tarquin, informed of their proceedings, led out all his forces, and posted himself a little above the Sabines, a few paces from the Tiverone, upon a rising-ground, where he fortified his camp. However desirous of fighting both armies might be, there was no regular battle. Tarquin used a stratagem which answered his purpose as well.

He threw on the Tiverone, near which he was encamped, a number of small boats laden with dry wood and other combustible matter, daubed with resin and sulphur. About the fourth watch, that is, three hours before sun-rising, he set them on fire, and turned them loose with a fair wind into the stream. These fire-boats quickly passed the conflux, and coming to the wooden bridge, fired it in several places. The Sabines seeing the flames from all parts, ran to the bridge to extinguish them. Mean time Tarquin, who was marching in order of battle, came at break of day to one of the camps. He found it but weakly defend-

ed,

ed, for most of the enemies were employed in quenching the fire: and therefore he became master of it without any difficulty. The second camp of the Sabines, posted on the other side the river, was at the same time attacked by another body of Romans, who departing in the beginning of the night in small boats, had passed the conflux by means of the darkness without being perceived, and only waited the firing of the bridge to assault the enemies second camp. This enterprize was as successful as the first. The Romans cut in pieces part of those that were in the camp. The rest were either drowned in the river by endeavouring to escape the enemy, or consumed by the fire in trying to preserve the bridge. Tarquin, in possession of both camps, divided the spoils among his soldiers. As for the prisoners, as well Sabines as Hetrurians, he commanded them to be conducted to Rome, and put under a strong guard.

In such actions it is that a general's abilities visibly appear. To deceive the enemies in this manner, he must contrive the design alone, keep it secret till the time of execution, direct all the circumstances and descend to the minutest particulars, give so just orders, that all may be ready to act in concert, and troops dispatched from different places and at different times may all arrive at the rendezvous exactly at the hour appointed. In a pitched battle, especially when the armies are very numerous, how many things are left to chance, which the general cannot foresee or direct! Here every thing proceeds from his own head, every thing is the effect of his prudence!

The Sabines, confounded and humbled by this fatal blow, which had destroyed their best troops, had no farther thoughts for the present of defending themselves by arms, but recurred to the mercy of the Romans. They sent ambassadors to Rome, and obtained a truce for six years.

As for the Hetrurians, incensed at being so often defeated by the Romans and refused their prisoners, whom Tarquin detained as so many hostages, they
ordered

ordered in a general council that the whole nation should enter into a league against the common enemy, and those that refused to join should be declared rebels, and forfeit the rights of the community (1). By virtue of this order, they all took arms, passed the Tyber, and encamped near Fidenæ. That city, being treacherously taken by means of a sedition raised by their practices, enabled them to seize a great number of prisoners upon the Roman territory, and carry them away. They left a strong garrison in the place, which they believed would be of great service in their design of continuing the war with the Romans.

A. R. 159.

Ant. C.

593.

The next spring the Romans were first in the field. Tarquin, to be in condition to withstand the formidable league of the Heturians against him, had armed all the Romans capable of serving, and raised as many troops as he could among the allies. The first campaigns were not distinguished with any memorable event. Of all the Heturians, the Veientes suffered most by the ravage of their lands, which the Romans continued several years successively.

A. R. 163.

Ant. C.

589.

At last they sat down before Fidenæ, resolving at any rate to drive the garrison thence, and be revenged of the inhabitants for delivering the city to the Heturians. The besieged made a long and vigorous defence, and exerted their utmost against enemies from whom no quarter was to be expected. The sallies were brisk and frequent, several very bloody battles were fought, wherein both parties engaged with uncommon obstinacy, the thirst of revenge on one side, and despair on the other, creating, in every action, fresh courage and strength. The city, however, was taken by storm, and the garrison, with all other Heturian soldiers, put in chains. As for the authors of the re-

(1) Heturia extended from the Tyrrhenian sea to the Apennine hills, and from Liguria to the Tyber. The Latines called the inhabitants Etrusci, Tusci, the Greeks Tyrrheni. The whole country was divided into twelve cantons, called Lucumonies, which were governed by twelve magistrates called Lucumones. The twelve capital cities were, Clusium, Perugia, Cortona, Aretium, Volaterra, Vetulonium, Rusellæ, Tarquinii, Volturni, Cære, Falerii and Veii. Heturia was the seat of learning for the Romans before Greece was conquered.

bellion, some were ignominiously scourged to death in the sight of the whole army, and others sent into perpetual banishment. Tarquin divided the lands of the Fidenates among the Romans whom he left there to dwell and defend it against the attacks of the enemy.

The last engagement between the Romans and A. R. 164.
Ant. C.
588. Hetrurians was fought near Eretum in the country of the Sabines. The Hetrurians ventured one battle more at the instance of the inhabitants of that city, who put them in hopes the Sabines would join them. The six years truce with the Romans was expired, and the Sabines in general had nothing so much at heart as the reparation of their losses. They flattered themselves with success, relying much on a flourishing youth, to which time had been given to grow and gather strength during the peace. But all these projects vanished, because the Roman army took the field much sooner than was imagined, so that the Hetrurians received no regular troops from any city of the Sabines. They were only joined by a few volunteers who were well paid. Tarquin's advantage over them in this action, was decisive for the Romans. Accordingly the victory was the most signal they had hitherto gained. The Roman Senate and People celebrated it by decreeing Tarquin a triumph. The Hetrurians for that time were discouraged, because of a great number of troops sent from all their cities, very few returned home. Some remained on the field of battle, others trying to escape, fell into impassable ways, and had no remedy but to surrender to the conquerors.

In a situation so deplorable, the heads of the nation, informed of Tarquin's preparing a new expedition against them, resolved in council to treat with him of a peace. Immediately a deputation of the most noted A. R. 165.
Ant. C.
587. persons for age and quality was sent from each city, with full power to accept of such terms as the King of the Romans should please. Tarquin, after they had made a long speech, told them, he had but one question

question to ask, namely, whether they still pretended to dispute equality with him, or whether they were come to own their defeat, and restore their cities to his obedience? All then declared their cities, as well as the conditions of peace, to be absolutely in his power. "This submission, replies he, is all I require. Go and tell your republic so. Till you return, rely upon the truce I now grant you."

Upon these promises the deputies withdrew, and returned in a few days, not with bare words, but with all the ensigns of sovereignty with which their Kings were used to be clothed, as a proof of their entire submission to his authority. They offered him a crown of gold, an ivory chair, a golden scepter, a mantle mixed with purple and other colours. They are said to offer him also twelve axes from the twelve cities. Each city, among the Hetrurians, had a Licor that walked before the King, carrying an ax in the midst of a bundle of rods; and when the twelve cities joined in any expedition, the twelve Licors walked before the commander in chief. This ceremony was borrowed by the Romans, whether in Romulus's time, or, as some others believe, in Tarquin's reign. He would not appear with these new marks of honour before he had consulted the Roman Senate and People, and obtained their consent. Such was the success of Tarquin's nine years war with the Hetrurians. I don't know, however, whether this full submission of the Hetrurians is not a little exaggerated by Dionysius Halicarnassensis. Porsena, Tolumnius, the siege of Veii, which will presently be mentioned, show, Hetruria was not yet entirely subdued.

There were now only the Sabines to dispute the superiority with the Romans. By how much the nearer these people were to Rome, by so much the more famous were they for their bravery and extent of a rich country, and by so much the more desirous was Tarquin of subjecting them to his dominion. He proclaimed therefore war against them, on pretence of their refusing to deliver up those who would have had
their

their nation declare for the Hettrurians. Both armies took the field very early. The loss of the first battle, wherein the Sabines were entirely defeated, cooled not their ardor. They raised a fresh army more numerous than the first. The war lasted five whole years, during which time there were continual incursions on both sides, and mutual ravages of the enemies country. Several battles were fought, wherein the Sabines had sometimes the better: but the considerable advantages were generally on the side of the Romans. At length, this obstinate war was ended by a battle. The two nations assembled all their forces with those of their allies, and fought a whole day with great vigour. The Romans gained the victory. A great number of Sabines lay dead on the field, in generously defending their lives. A greater number of runaways were taken prisoners. The enemy's camp, full of riches and booty, remained to the conquerors, who, masters of the field, after destroying all with fire and sword, returned to Rome about the end of the year. Tarquin triumphed a third time.

The next year he made fresh preparations against the same Sabines, who, disheartened by their losses, staid not to be attacked. The principal persons of each city, deputed to Tarquin, who was now in the field at the head of his army, assured him, their destiny was in his hands, and prayed him to consult his clemency and goodness in granting them a peace. The Roman King received the more gladly the free submission of the Sabines, as it saved him the dangers of purchasing it by a conquest. He made an alliance with them on the same terms he had done with the Hettrurians; and moreover, released all the Sabine prisoners without ransom.

In all that has been hitherto said, appears the character of the Roman people, (of which much plainer marks will be seen in the sequel;) namely, their desire of dominion, their pretending a claim to give law to others, and their belief of being destined to become lords of the universe. One would think they received

A. R. 171.
Ant. C.
581.

ceived an order from heaven, giving them an absolute dominion over all nations :

Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento.

Thee heav'n, brave Roman, form'd for high command.

With what haughtiness and pride do they already speak to the nations ! but this haughtiness and this pride are accompanied with an air of goodness and lenity which removes their fears. As they are offended and incensed with resistance, they are gained and disarmed by submission.

Parcere subjectis, & debellare superbos.

To spare the suppliant, and pull down the proud.

They are a conquering nation, but that seeks only to subdue, not destroy ; and that always aspires to make the vanquished their friends.

I promised, after the recital of Tarquin's martial exploits, an account of his most remarkable actions in peace : for he hath rendered himself equally famous in both respects.

Dion. l. 3. His increasing the number of the Senators and
p. 199— Vestals has already been remembered.

202.
Liv. l. 1. He beautified with shops and other works the Fo-
c. 38. rum, where justice was administered, and the assemblies of the People and markets were held.

He rebuilt the walls of Rome with great stones, according to art, which were raised before in a very rough manner.

He made aqueducts and common-sewers to convey water to Rome, and to carry off the filth into the Tyber : works of infinite usefulness, (the one for the conveniencies of life, the other for the cleanliness of the city) and of a magnificence not to be conceived, and which must have cost immense sums. They may be judged of by a circumstance related by Dionysius Halicarnassensis. He observes, that the sewers having been in time so neglected, that the water would not pass through them, the Censors, who undertook to cleanse them, received a thousand talents, (that is,

75,000 l.

75,000*l.* sterling) to defray the expence. The same author adding to the aqueducts and sewers the causeways paved with stone, which were long after raised, says, nothing gave him a more lofty idea of the grandeur and power of the Roman empire, than those magnificent works.

Besides these edifices Tarquin built the Circus, between mount Aventine and mount Palatine, in which he made covered seats for the spectators. Before that time they were placed on wretched amphitheatres built with boards, and supported with posts, being hastily run up when the games were to be celebrated. And if we look farther back, we find the spectators standing on the ground *. Tarquin divided the Circus into thirty parts, one for each Curia, from whence the games could be conveniently seen by every man. This building became afterwards the most magnificent work of Rome, and the most capable of striking with admiration. It will be mentioned in its time.

He undertook also to build a temple to Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva, pursuant to his vow in a battle with the Sabines. But, because the hill, designed for this edifice, being very high and steep, had no even ground; to correct this defect, he raised a high and strong wall all round, with a large terrace between the wall and the top of the hill. By this immense labour he levelled the ground, and made it fit to bear any building. Nevertheless he laid not the foundations of the temple, because he lived but four years after his wars. It was a very noble and most magnificent undertaking. It is easy to judge of it by what has been said, especially if it is remembered, that a rock was also to be cut through, which took up great part of the hill, and the rest of the ground to be levelled. Tarquin the-Proud laid the foundations, raised great part of the building, and almost brought it to perfection. But the whole work was finished by

* Nam antea subitariis gradibus & scena in tempus structa ludos edisiliatos: vel si vetustiora repetas, statim populum spectavisse. TACIT., Annal. l. 14.

the Consuls, the third year after the expulsion of the Kings.

It is justly thought strange that Tarquin should undertake such expensive works, at a time when the revenues of Rome were yet very small. The spoils taken from the enemies, and carefully kept in the public treasury, supplied doubtless great part of the expence necessary for building such stately edifices : but the prince found a plentiful stock in his frugality and care not to run into any needless expences on his own account. Besides, we know, the People were employed in works relating to the beautifying of the city, and the building of the temples.

There happened in Tarquin's reign, if the Historians are to be credited, a very extraordinary event, which greatly increased the reputation of the Augurs and Auspices. Tarquin intending to add three new centuries of Knights to the three centuries established by Romulus, and to give them his own and the name of his friends ; Accius Navius, the most celebrated Augur of his time, told him, such an alteration could not be made without first consulting the will of the Gods by the flight of birds. The King, vexed to be crossed in his designs, to disgrace his art, and show all divination was but chance, commanded him to go and consult his Auspices, whether what he had in his thoughts could be effected. The Augur obeys, and returning some time after, affirms the thing to be practicable. Then the king, smiling, says to him, " I " was thinking whether you could cut this flint with " a razor which I have here ;" and gave them to him. Accius, without a moment's hesitation, taking the razor, cut the flint in two. Tarquin, full of admiration, erected him in the place a statue of brass with his head veiled. In the same place were put the razor and flint, to preserve to posterity the memory of so extraordinary a fact. By this miraculous event the science and profession of augury was held in greater honour than ever. From that time no war was undertaken, no assembly convened, no resolution made, in
a word,

a word, no public affair was transacted without first consulting the Augurs.

How fabulous soever this fact may appear, Cicero makes his brother Quintus say *, all the Annals must be burnt, and all historical facts be rejected, to call it in question after the authority of so many famous authors; and, what is of much greater force, after the testimony of the statue erected for a memorial of it, which was still in being in the time of Dionysius Halicarnassensis. But Cicero † himself, though Augur, makes a jest of the story, and ranks it with fabulous inventions, *commentitiis fabulis*: wherein he is much more worthy of credit than his brother, who pleading the cause of Divination, alledges, as advocate, whatever had been devised by the Augurs in favour of that subject.

Was the fact real, as St. Augustin seems to think, it should be inferred that God, to punish the idolatrous superstition of the Romans, and the vain confidence they placed in their false Gods, from whom they hoped to get the knowledge of the future, which he has reserved to himself alone, suffered the devil to work this miracle, very proper to foment and increase the blind credulity of that People.

I have deferred till now to speak of Servius Tullius, whom we shall quickly see on the throne. He was of Corniculum, a city of Latium. His mother Ocrisia, a lady of quality and eminent virtue, was with child when that city was taken by Tarquin, who carried her away with the rest of the captives, and gave her to the Queen. Ocrisia was delivered of a son, called Tullius after his father, with the surname of Servius, to denote the state of servitude wherein he was born; for all prisoners of war, every one knows, were slaves as well as their children. He was nursed and educated in the palace as a slave. One day,

* *Negemus omnia, comburamus Annales, ficta hæc esse dicamus,* &c. 1. de Divin. n. 33.

† *Contemne cotem Attii Nævii. Nihil debet esse in philosophia commentitiis fabellis loci.* 1. de Divin. n. 80.

Liv. l. 1. t. c. 39—40.
Dionys.
l. 4. p. 206
---211.

as he was in the King's room, and asleep, a flame was seen to encircle his head. These antient facts are always attended with prodigies. At the report of this event, the King came into the room. As somebody was bringing water to quench the flame, the King prevented it, and commanded the child not to be touched till he awaked of his own accord. Very soon the flame ceased with the child's sleep. Then Tanaquil taking her husband aside: "See you (said she) that child which we educate in so low a manner: know, he will one day be the light and support of our house. Wherefore, let us for the future use all our care to give him an education worthy the great hopes we should conceive of him." From that time they looked upon him as their own son, and caused him to be trained up in all things becoming a youth of quality, and one designed for the highest honours.

He wisely improved the instructions he received, and showed in all his behaviour sentiments and dispositions worthy a throne. Tarquin, when he came to chuse a son-in-law, found none among the Roman youth more deserving than him of that honour, and gave him his daughter in marriage. This new advancement, which seemed to place him near the throne, far from breeding in him haughtiness and pride, served only to set forth his merit with more lustre, and show his rare endowments to better advantage. The King often put him at the head of his army, where he always behaved with the bravery and prudence of a consummate general. Whenever Tarquin, whether through age or infirmities, was unable to discharge his functions in person, Tullius was immediately employed. In all the offices he had to sustain, he discovered such ripeness and wisdom, and so gained the people by his civil and obliging behaviour, that all the wishes and suffrages began already to declare in his favour. Tanaquil had brought the King but one son, who died in the flower of his youth, and had left two sons unqualified, by their age, to succeed
their

their grand-father. All eyes were therefore cast upon Servius as Tarquin's future successor.

So distinguished a preference roused the jealousy and ambition of Ancus's two sons. They had all along with concern seen themselves removed from the throne by the fraud of their guardian, and bore with impatience the substitution of a foreigner in their place. But they thought it the highest indignity and utmost disgrace, if, from the hands of Tarquin, the scepter should not pass at least into theirs, and if they should have the vexation to see it again descend to a man of nothing: if in a city, where, about a hundred years before, Romulus, offspring of a God, and himself a God, had, during his mortal life, wore the crown, a slave, son of a slave his mother, should be seen on the same throne. "What dishonour (said they to one another) would it reflect on Rome, and particularly on our family, if, whilst the race of Ancus subsists, the throne should be open, not only to foreigners, but even to slaves!" They resolve therefore to remove that dishonour with the sword. But they were no less incensed against Tarquin himself than against Servius; and many reasons induced them to begin with taking away his life. For if he survived his son-in-law, he might, as King, be better able to revenge the murder they should commit, than a private man. Besides, in all probability, Servius being killed, Tarquin would not fail to chuse another son-in-law, and make him his successor. So it was agreed by the two brothers, the King should be first attacked.

They chuse for instruments of their design two bold and resolute peasants, and gave them ample instructions. The peasants come near the entrance into the palace with hatchets on their shoulders, quarrelling with one another, and making a great noise. This disturbance attracts the attention of the whole guard. Their quarrel growing warmer, they demand to be heard by the King. Their clamours had now reached his apartment. He was very ready to give them audience, and hear their case. The Kings, to become

more popular, were easy of access to all their subjects, and judged their differences in person. They begin to bawl and speak both together, continually interrupting each other. It was with difficulty they were made to speak by turns. One of them begins with setting forth the cause of his complaint, and relating the fact in the manner agreed upon beforehand. Whilst the King was attentively listening to his story, the other strikes him on the head with his hatchet, and leaving it in the wound, they both run away. The King's attendants remove him just expiring in their arms, and the murderers are seized.

The whole city is immediately in an uproar, and there is a great concourse of people about the palace. Tanaquil, in the tumult, orders all the gates to be shut, and places a strong guard, with a command to let no man go in or out. Mean while she diligently prepares every thing to dress the wound, as if there was some hope: and, in case there should be none, she takes other measures. Having instantly sent for Servius, and shown him her dying husband, she conjures him, taking him by the hand and presenting to him her two grandsons, not to suffer his father-in-law's death to go unpunished, nor his mother-in-law and these unhappy orphans to become the sport of their enemies. "The throne is yours (says she) if
 " you show yourself a man, and not theirs who have
 " committed murder by the hands of others. Take
 " courage, and follow the path marked out plainly to
 " you by the Gods in that divine light which heretofore
 " shone round your head. Now let that celestial flame
 " rouze you: now shake off slumber indeed. We, though
 " foreigners, have reigned here. Think then, not whence
 " you are sprung, but what you are. And if, through concern
 " at this fatal accident, you cannot advise yourself, be
 " advised by me." (1)

As

(1) Tuum est, inquit, Servi, si vir es, regnum: non eorum qui alienis manibus pessimum facinus fecere. Erige te, Deosque duces sequere, qui clarum hoc fore caput divino quondam circumfuso igni por-

As the clamour and violence of the people could hardly be restrained, the Queen, looking out of a window, bids them lay aside their concern, saying, "The King, struck with a sudden and violent blow, had at first lost his senses: the wound was not deep: he was now come to himself. After wiping off the blood, the wound had been examined, and was like to do well. She hoped they would see him in a few days. In the mean time it was his pleasure the people should obey Servius, who would administer justice, and discharge the other functions of royalty." Accordingly Servius appears with the royal robes and Lictors, and seated on the throne, decides some causes immediately, and upon others declares he will consult the King. Mean while, Ancus's sons, when they heard the two murderers were seized, imagining the King to be still alive, and seeing the great power of Servius, went into voluntary banishment at Sueffa Pometia, a city of the Volsci.

Tarquin the Elder died at eighty years of age; and had reigned thirty-eight. He left two grandsons * under age, Lucius Tarquinius, and Aruns Tarquinius; and two daughters, both married.

portenderunt. Nunc te illa cœlestis excitet flamma. Nunc expergiscere verè. Et nos peregrini regnavimus. Qui sis, non unde natus sis, reputa. Si tua re subita consilia torpent; at tu mea sequere. Liv. l. 1. c. 41.

* Dionysius Halicarnassensis, in a long dissertation, shows them to be grandsons to Tarquin the elder, and not his own sons.

C H A P. VI.

The REIGN of SERVIUS TULLIUS.

Tullius is declared King by the People, without the consent of the Senate. He maintains several wars, which are happily ended. He divides the People into nineteen Tribes. He establishes the Census or survey. He introduces the custom of enfranchising slaves. He makes a particular alliance between the Romans and Latines. Tragical death of Tullius.

TULLIUS having governed some days in the King's name, and seeing his authority sufficiently established, published at length Tarquin's death, as if he was just expired. He performed his obsequies in a magnificent manner, and erected for him a stately monument with all the ornaments of majesty. Then he declared himself guardian of the young princes, grandsons of Tarquin. He took care of the state as their inheritance and patrimony, and in that quality assumed the reins of the government.

The Senators, offended and alarmed at this conduct, which opened a way for an entire independence on their authority, concerted measures to prevent the consequences, and oppose the growing power of Tullius. He, fully informed of their intentions, omitted nothing to gain the People's favour in so urgent and decisive a juncture. To that end, he assembles the People, presents to them Tarquin's grandsons, and puts them under their protection, as he was charged by their dying grandfather, in words which, says he, will for ever remain engraven on my heart. " He briefly sums up the important services Tarquin had performed for the state, modestly rehearses his own endeavours to walk in his steps, and his sincere desire to ease the poor citizens. He concludes with protesting, that as guardian of these unfortunate children, who are going to be exposed, as well as himself, to
the

the utmost danger, he has nothing to do, but to put them into the hands, and under the protection, of the Roman People, who alone for the future can be a father to them."

Tullius's speech was received with the universal applause of the assembly. Some that were present, whom he had prepared before-hand, cried out, "He should be chosen King, and the Curiae be called to the vote." This cry was instantly followed by the whole multitude. Tullius thought the motion should be improved, and accordingly summoned the Comitia to meet, to which were called the people of the country. The Curiae met on the day appointed, and all declaring for Tullius, they advanced him to the royalty. Tullius ascended the throne, without giving himself any concern about the Senate's consent, who confirmed not, according to custom, the decree of the People.

A. R. 176.
Ant. C.
576.

A foreign war seasonably arose to stop the domestic commotions which might be excited by the discontent of the Senators. The Veientes were the first that revolted. Their example was followed by the Cœretes and Tarquinians, and immediately all Hetruria was in arms. This war held twenty years without intermission. The inroads were frequent on both sides, and the two nations engaged often with all their forces. Servius had always the advantage, as well in particular skirmishes, as in general actions. He triumphed three times, and in the end reduced them to obedience. The twelve cities of which the Hetrurian nation consisted, drained of men and money, met together in the twentieth year, and resolved to submit again on the same terms given them by Tarquin. Servius very readily granted them, with all their rights and privileges. But for the Cœretes, Tarquinians, and Veientes, who had been the leaders in the rebellion, and drawn the others into their quarrel, he punished them with confiscation of lands, which he presently after distributed among those that were received into the number of Roman citizens.

Dionys.
l. 4. p. 23.
Liv. l. 1.
c. 42.

zens. This good success secured him the crown for ever.

In Quæst.
Rom.
p. 281.

He believed it incumbent upon him to show his gratitude to the Goddess Fortuna, by whom he had been so constantly favoured. He dedicated to her two temples, one by the name of Bona Fortuna, the other, of Fortuna Virilis. Plutarch mentions a third temple, dedicated also by Servius, to Fortuna Primaginia, because she had from his birth taken him under her care. He names several others, which show Tullius had always before him the change which happened in his fortune, and was not ashamed of the low estate from whence he was advanced.

Dionys.

l. 4. p. 218

—221.

At his accession to the crown he had divided part of the lands of the public among the poor citizens, who had none of their own to cultivate, but were obliged to gain a livelihood by labouring for others. He had also made several laws about contracts, and the frauds committed therein, which were all approved in the Comitia.

Servius is remarked to be the first King of Rome that stamped an impression on the money. It consisted before but of shapeless bits of copper or lead, of such a weight. The image of a lamb was the first stamp, and from thence the money was called Pecunia.

Servius employed the leisure procured him by the late peace with the Hetrurians, in works both useful and grand. He took in mount Viminalis and mount Esquilinus, each of which was capable of containing a city of a just extent. He gave the ground for those to build on that had no house, and raised for himself a palace on the finest part of mount Esquilinus. He was the last King that enlarged the circuit of the city, by adding these two hills to the other five.

After Tullius had inclosed the seven hills within the city, he divided it into four quarters, which were named from the principal hills they contained. To the

the three Tribes Rome was divided into by Romulus, he added a fourth, and placed one in each quarter. The inhabitants of mount Capitolinus, mount Palatinus, and the space between these two hills, composed the first Tribe, called Tribus Palatina. They that dwelt in the quarter called Suburra, containing mount Cœlius, made the second Tribe, which retained the name of Tribus Suburrana. The inhabitants of mount Esquilinus were called Tribus Esquilina. Lastly, they that lived on the mounts Viminalis and Quirinalis, bore the name of the hills on which they were placed, and were called Tribus Collina, or Collatina. From collis, a hill.

He divided also the whole Roman territory into fifteen Tribes, which, added to the other four, made nineteen. The number was afterwards increased at different times, and at last fixed to thirty-five Tribes, as I shall observe in the sequel. Dionys. l. 4. p. 221. — 225. Liv. l. 1. c. 42—44.

After this, he set about a regulation, the wisest and most advantageous that could possibly be devised for the republic, and withal the properest to gain him the Senate, and recover the esteem and friendship of the highest order of the state. Mr. l'Abbe de Vertot, in his excellent book of the Revolutions of the Roman republic, prepares the reader for this important regulation by very judicious remarks.

It will perhaps be thought strange, says he, that in a state governed by a King assisted with a Senate, the laws, ordinances, and result of all the deliberations, should always run in the People's name, without any mention of the Prince on the throne. But it must be remembered, this generous People had reserved the best share in the government. No resolution was taken, whether for war or peace, but in their assemblies. These were called at that time Comitia Curiata, or Assemblies by Curia, because they were to consist only of the inhabitants of Rome, divided into thirty Curia. Here the Kings were chosen, the magistrates and priests elected, laws made, and

and justice administered. The King, with consent of the Senate, convened these assemblies, and appointed by a *Senatus-consultum* the day they were to meet, and the affairs they were to debate. Another *Senatus-consultum* was required to confirm what was there decreed. The Prince or chief magistrate presided in these assemblies, which were always preceded by auspices and sacrifices, whereof the Patricians had the sole management.

But however, as every thing was decided in these assemblies by a plurality of voices, and the suffrages given man by man, the Plebeians always out-voted the Senate and Patricians, so that they usually formed the result of the deliberations preferably to the Senate and nobles. Servius Tullius, a prince entirely republican, notwithstanding his regal dignity, could not however bear that the government should often depend on the meanest of the populace; and therefore resolved to convey the whole authority to the nobility, where he hoped to find juster views and less prejudice.

The undertaking was attended with great difficulties. Tullius had to deal with a people of the whole world the haughtiest and most jealous of their rights: and to oblige them to part with any privilege, it was necessary to blind them with some greater advantage. The Romans in those days were taxed so much a head to the public treasury; and as originally the fortune of private persons was very near alike, they had been made liable to the same tax, which they continued to pay with the same equality, though in process of time some were found to have much greater estates than others (1). Servius represented in an assembly, that the inhabitants of Rome and their riches being considerably increased by the great number of foreigners settled in the city, he did not think it reasonable that a poor citizen should contribute as much as a

* Varro says, the taxes being laid on the tribes, were therefore called Tributes and Contributions.

wealthier one to the public expences : that these contributions ought to be proportioned to every particular person's estate ; but to know that exactly, it was necessary to oblige all the citizens, under the severest penalties, to give in a faithful account of their effects, which might serve for a rule to make such an assessment.

The People, who saw in this proposal only their own relief, received it with great applause, and the whole assembly unanimously gave the King power to settle the government in such manner as should seem the most agreeable to the public good. Pursuant to that resolution, Servius instituted the Census, which was nothing else but a list or survey of all the Roman citizens, wherein were comprized their age, effects, profession, name of their Tribe and Curia, with the number of their children and slaves. There were then in and about Rome, above eighty thousand citizens fit to bear arms. In this survey were included neither the women, nor the children, or young persons under seventeen years of age, nor the slaves.

Servius divided all these citizens into six Classes, and made up each Class of different Centuries, which were not companies of a hundred men, as the word seems to denote, but contained more or less according to the distinction of the Classes. Half the Centuries of a Class were composed of young citizens from seventeen to forty-five years of age ; and half contained the older citizens from forty-six and upwards.

In the first Class he put eighty Centuries, containing none but Senators, Patricians, or persons noted for their riches ; who were all to be worth at least a hundred thousand Asses *, that is, 322 l. 18 s. 4 d. sterling (1). These eighty Companies of the first

* Halicarnassensis, who reckons after the manner of the Greeks, counts 100 minæ at least for those of the first Class, which answer to Livy's 100,000 asses. Ten asses make a drachma ; consequently 100,000 asses made 10,000 drachmas, or 100 minæ. For the Attic mina was 100 drachmas.

(1) These computations are according to Arbuthnot.

Class were (as I said) divided into two orders, namely, forty of elderly persons, intended for the guard and defence of the city, and forty of younger men to go to the wars. They had all alike arms offensive and defensive. The offensive were a javelin, a pike, and a sword; the defensive, a helmet, a cuirass, and cuisses, all of brass. Under this first Class were also ranked all the cavalry divided into eighteen Centuries, composed of the principal and richest persons of the city (1).

The second Class had but twenty Centuries, consisting of those who were worth at least seventy-five thousand asses, or 242 l. 3 s. 9 d. sterling. They were armed in much the same manner as the citizens of the first Class, except that they had no cuirass, and carried an oblong buckler, instead of an oval shield.

In the third Class were also but twenty centuries, with an estate of fifty thousand asses, or 161 l. 9 s. 2 d. sterling. They had the same arms as the second Class, except cuisses.

The fourth Class had the same number of Centuries as the second and third. The estate was to be twenty-five thousand asses, or 80 l. 14 s. 7 d. sterling. Their arms were a square buckler, a sword, and a pike.

In the fifth Class were thirty Centuries with effects to the value of twelve thousand five hundred asses, or 40 l. 7 s. 3 d. $\frac{1}{2}$. sterling. They were armed with slings and stones.

Four other Centuries without any arms followed the troops, two of carpenters and smiths for making the engines of war, and two of trumpeters and blowers on the horn. The workmen belonged to the second, and the two others to the fourth class: which consequently had each twenty-two centuries.

(1) Persons of the first rank, by reason of their pre-eminence, had the name of *Classici*; whence the phrase *Classici authores*, for the most approved writers. All others, of what Class soever, were said to be *infra Classem*.

The sixth Class had but one Century, or was rather a confused multitude of the poorer citizens. They were called *Proletarii*, as being useful only by stocking the commonwealth with children, or *Exempti*, because they were exempted from going to war, and paying any tax.

These six Classes contained one hundred ninety-three centuries, commanded each by an officer noted for experience and bravery.

Livy and Dionysius Halicarnassensis differ in some circumstances of little moment which affect not the nature and substance of this regulation, and therefore they are not taken notice of by me.

This distribution of the Roman People was, as we see, entirely military, and with a prospect chiefly to war. Nevertheless Servius made signal use of it in the civil administration of the government; wherein his great ability and profound policy cannot be sufficiently admired. He ordered that for the future the People should assemble by centuries, when magistrates were to be elected, laws made, war declared, or when capital crimes, and such as concerned the whole state, were to be judged. The assembly was to be held without the city, in the field of Mars (1). The citizens were to come armed, according to the distinction of their classes. It was the prerogative of the Sovereign or chief magistrate to convene the *Comitia Centuriata*, as well as the *Curiata*; and all consultations were to be preceded by *Auspices*, which gave great authority to the Prince and Patricians, who were invested with the principal offices of the priesthood. It was moreover agreed, that the votes should be taken by Centuries, whereas before they were counted man by man, and that the ninety-eight Centuries of the first Class should give their votes first.

(1) *Campus Martius* was a large field lying near the Tyber consecrated to Mars, where the public sports and exercises were performed, and several public *Comitia* or assemblies were held, and for that purpose were the *Septa* or *Ovilia* apartments raised in for the Tribes or Centuries to go in one by one to give their votes.

By this new regulation, full of admirable wisdom, things were so contrived, by an artful mixture of burdens and advantages, that neither the poor nor the rich had any just cause to complain. It must needs have been so, since the People bore this alteration so many years, without showing any sign of dislike or discontent.

For indeed, on both sides, if there was any new burden, it was balanced by some great advantage. When troops were to be raised, each of the hundred ninety-three Centuries, except the last, was obliged to furnish a certain number of soldiers, and a certain sum for the subsistence of the army. Now the richer sort being fewest in number, and yet making more Centuries than the rest, who were less rich and more numerous, were obliged to serve almost without intermission, and to supply very large sums; whilst the inferior Classes, much more numerous than the principal ones, and divided into fewer Centuries, went to war but seldom, and in their turn, and paid very light taxes. For the same reason, those who had only from hand to mouth, and made the bulk of the People, as they do every where else, were exempted from service and tribute.

And here Servius's wise designs cannot be too much admired. Persuaded that men, in making war, have no stronger motive than their fortune, and readily expose themselves to any danger in defence of their estates, he believed those that had more interest than others in the gaining of a battle, not only ought in justice to be freer of their money and persons, but also would serve the republic with more courage and zeal. At that time every one went to the wars at his own charge, and it was not yet the custom to maintain the soldiers out of the public treasure. What difference in a battle, between troops that hazard their all, and adventurers that have nothing to lose!

By what I have been saying, it appears, the poor were entirely eased, and the burdens and contributions fell solely on the rich, in proportion to their estate.

estate *. But on the other hand, the rich were amply recompensed, and the poor had much less power than before. In the early times, affairs of the greatest importance, especially the creation of the magistrates, the making or abrogating of a law, even peace and war, were decided by the Comitiâ Curiata, where the Plebeians, much more numerous, were masters of all the resolves. Servius, by the new regulation, artfully conveyed to the first Class, composed of the great men of Rome, all the authority of the government: and without openly depriving the Plebeians of the right of suffrage, he found means by this method to render it of no effect †.

For the whole nation consisting but of one hundred ninety-three Centuries, and there being ninety-eight in the first Class, if only ninety-seven were of the same opinion, that is, one more than half of the hundred ninety-three, the business was determined; and then the first Class, composed, as I said, of the great men of Rome, formed alone the public decrees. If any votes were wanted, and some Centuries of the first Class dissented from the rest, the second Class was called. But when these two Classes agreed in opinion, or rather, when in these two Classes, which together made an hundred and eighteen votes, there were ninety-seven of one mind, the plurality was formed, and it was needless to go on to the third. Thus the meaner people were without power, when the voices were taken by Centuries; whereas, when they were counted by Curiae, as the rich were confounded with the poor, the least Plebeian had as much power as the greatest Senator.

Some alterations were in time made in the order established by Servius, but of no great importance, which shall be mentioned as occasion requires.

I must not forget a very useful law made by Servius, (according to Dionysius Halicarnassensis) that

* Hæc omnia in dites à pauperibus inclinata onera. Liv.

† Gradus facti, ut neque exclusus quisquam suffragio videretur, & vis omnia penes primores civitatis esset. Liv.

upon every birth, a piece of money should be paid into the temple of Juno Lucina; upon every death, into the temple of Venus Libitina; upon taking the Toga Virilis, into the temple of the Goddess Juventus.

From that time the Comitia Curiata, or assemblies by Curiaë, were held only for electing the Flamines (that is, the priests of Jupiter, Mars, and Romulus) and the Curio Maximus (1), with some other inferior magistrates, of which there will be occasion to speak in the sequel.

The custom of calling the Comitia Curiata was still retained for form-sake, when the military power called Imperium was to be conferred on those that by the suffrages of the Centuries had been raised to the magistracy.

Servius, it is said, to complete his work, and render the Romans entirely free, had resolved generously to resign the crown, and reduce the government to a pure commonwealth, under the regency of two annual magistrates, to be elected in a general assembly of the Roman People. His death, hastened by Tarquin's crime, prevented the execution of so heroic a design. After his death was found, in his memoirs, the plan drawn up at large, as I shall describe hereafter.

Servius having finished the survey of the Roman People, commanded all the citizens to assemble, under arms, in the field of Mars, every one in his Class and Century. Then he purified all the troops with a sacrifice of a sow, a sheep, and a bull, which, before they were sacrificed, were carried three times round the field. The sacrifice was called Solitaurilia, or rather Suovetaurilia (2), and the solemnity Lustrum, as much as to say, Lustration, Purification: it was repeated every fifth year (3). In this Lustrum (ac-

(1) Or Superintendent of the Curiones.

(2) From *fus*, a sow, *ovis*, a sheep, and *taurus*, a bull.

(3) Hence Lustrum (*à luendo*, from paying, clearing) came to signify the space of five years. The ceremony of performing this expiatory sacrifice was called Lustrum condere.

according to Dionysius Halicarnassensis) there were eighty-four thousand, but according to Livy, eighty thousand, free citizens. This number ought not to appear surprizing. There were above forty thousand at Romulus's death, and the union of the Albans with the Romans doubled the number. After him all the Kings of Rome, pursuing his plan, had greatly increased the citizens by the incorporation of their neighbours.

Servius, full of the same views, resolved farther to strengthen the republic, by admitting, some way or ^{Dionys.} 1.4. p. 226. other, among the citizens the slaves that were made free. Of slaves there were two sorts: Prisoners of war (with which slavery began) called Mancipia (1), and children whose parents, or mothers only, were slaves. The King then thought of admitting them into the number of citizens: his own former state of slavery inspired him with pity for men who otherwise might not want merit, and could be reproached only for their unhappy birth, or for being made prisoners of war. This project met at first with great opposition, and was highly blamed, especially by the Patricians, who thought it dishonourable thus to confound slaves with the citizens. Servius, in an assembly, laboured to justify his intention, expressing himself with great mildness in the following manner. "He was surprized that what he meant to do for the slaves should be blamed; and that any one should desire to perpetuate between liberty and slavery a distinction not made by nature, but entirely owing to the caprice of chance. He represented how much the hopes of recovering or acquiring liberty would attach slaves to the service of their masters. He insisted chiefly on the benefit and advantages that would accrue to the republic by the law he intended; and showed that nothing was more proper for a city which was forming great designs, and aspiring to become one day mistress of the world, than an increase of inhabitants: by that means she would

(1) As much as to say, manu capti, taken by the hand of the enemy.

be able to support herself with her own forces against the most formidable armies, and not want foreign troops, which were the destruction of states. Finally, it was that reason which led the Kings his predecessors, to receive into citizenship all the strangers that offered to settle at Rome." This speech had the desired effect, and the law was unanimously received.

By the law, masters were allowed to enfranchise their slaves, that is, give them their freedom, and admit them among the citizens. It sufficed for that purpose, that the slaves whom their masters intended to make free, got their name to be writ in the public register, and gave in an estimate of their effects, if they had any. This was the first way, among the Romans, of granting freedom to their slaves : Censu, by the Roll. There were afterwards two other ways.

Liv. l. 2.
c. 5.

The second method of enfranchising a slave was *Vindictâ*, by the Rod. It was introduced the year after the expulsion of the Kings by Valerius Publicola, when he rewarded a slave for discovering the conspiracy of the young Roman lords to restore the Tarquins : The slave was called Vindicius, and from his name the ceremony is thought to be termed *Vindicta*. The Prætor (for to him the office afterwards belonged) gently struck the slave on the head with a rod, (1), and that moment he became free and his own master, according to the poet ;

*Vindictâ postquam meus à Prætore recessi,
Cur mihi non liceat, jussit quodcunque voluntas ?*

PERS. Sat. 5.

Since with his Rod thè Prætor made me free,
May I not live without controul and awe ?

(1) The slave was brought before the Prætor by his master, who, laying his hand on the slave's head, said, " Hunc hominem liberum esse volo ; è manu emittere." (Hence the ceremony was called manumission.) Then the Prætor laying the rod called *Vindicta* on his head, said, " Dico eum liberum esse more Quiritum." After that, the Lictor, taking the rod out of the Prætor's hand, struck the slave several blows on the head, face, and back ; that done, nothing remained but *Pileo donari*, to receive the cap in token of liberty, and to have his name entered in the roll of freemen, with the reason of his obtaining that favour.

It

It is said, he added another ceremony, which was to give the slave a box on the ear, and turn him round*.

————— *Una Quiritem*

Vertigo facit. —————

PERS.

Slaves are made citizens by turning round. DRYD.

Multo majoris alapæ mecum veneunt. PHOED. II. 5.

A box on the ear (i. e. freedom) is purchased of me at a much dearer rate.

The third way of affranchising slaves was by Testament. All these three ways are expressed in a passage of Cicero; *Si neque censu, neque vindicta, neque* In Topic.
testamento liber, &c.

The slaves thus freed were called *Liberti* or *Liber-tini*. The word *Libertus* had reference to the patron; as *Libertus Ciceronis*, *Libertus Cæsaris*. The word *Libertinus* expressed the state or condition; *Homo Libertinus*, a Freedman. Some authors think the *Libertini* were the children of the *Liberti*; but the other opinion seems most probable.

Though by their freedom they became Roman citizens, they were not admitted like the *Ingenui*, or Free-born, either among the Knights, or the Senators: but only to the common privileges of the People. Accordingly they were placed in the city-tribes, which, as I observed, were the least considered. The freedmen were uneasy to see themselves confined there, Liv. I. 45.
c. 15. and so managed that they over-ran the country-tribes; where they were introduced by Appius Claudius the Blind-man in his Censorship. But that irregularity which threw disorder and confusion into the assemblies of the People, by giving power to the populace thus dispersed through all the Tribes, was quickly restrained by Q. Fabius Rullus; and that service was deemed so important to the state, that it gained him the surname of *Maximus*, which his victories could not

* Quos manumittebant, alapa percussos circumegisse, atque ita de manu misisse. ISIDOR. l. 9.

Lib. i. de
orat. ii. 38.

do. We find also in the year of Rome 532, the same thing revived by the Censors Paulus Æmilius and Flaminius; which shows Q. Fabius's regulation could not stand long against the restless struggles of the populace. About fifty years after, the old regulations were re-established, and T. Sempronius Gracchus the Censor, included all the freed-men in the Esquiline Tribe: an act that merited the praises of Cicero, and to which that orator ascribes the safety of the state.

Liv. l. 9.
c. 18.
l. 10. c. 22.

As to military service, a great difference was also made between the freedmen and ancient citizens. The sea-service was less esteemed among the Romans than the land: and for the marine it was that the freedmen were usually listed. Upon extraordinary occasions, they were also employed in the land-forces, as appears in several places of Livy. But how rarely this was done, is evident from a passage in the epitome of the LXXIVth book at the time of the social war, where it is said, the freedmen then first began to serve in the armies: *Libertini tunc primum militare coeperunt*. From that time, very probably, the thing became usual and customary.

The freedmen, out of gratitude for so great a benefit as liberty, thought it a duty as well as an honour to bear the name of their benefactors. And therefore they took the two first names of their patron, to which they added their own for surname (1). We know two freedmen of Cicero, one called Marcus Tullius Tiro, and the other Marcus Tullius Laurea.

In this custom, established by Servius, of admitting freedmen among the citizens, appears a character of goodness, humanity, and equity, by which the Romans were always distinguished; and withal, a great stock of wisdom and policy which redounds to that prince's honour. Not to mention the multitude of citizens

(1) The Ingenui or free-born had three names; 1. Prænomen, answering to our Christian name. 2. Nomen, answering to the Grecian patronymics. 3. Cognomen, to distinguish families. The freedmen took the Prænomen and Nomen of their Patron, and prefixed them to their own. The Prænomen was not given till the assuming the Toga virilis, or manly gown.

given by this law to the republic, with how many excellent subjects was the state enriched by it? Though I could give no other instance but Terence, does not Rome glory in the works of that African slave, by her made a Roman?

Servius, after these domestic regulations, ever possessed with great, but withal pacific designs, thought of making Rome the centre and metropolis of Latium, and the common bond of union between her and the Latines. The Latine nations had by force of arms been subdued more than once: he undertook to bind them to Rome with the cords of religion and friendship. To that end, he had long since endeavoured to gain the amity and esteem of the Latine great men, by frequently having them with him, by treating them kindly and civilly, and showing them great respect. In their private conversations he often represented to them, that peace and concord were the greatest improvers of the weakest states, whilst by discord the most powerful monarchies were brought to destruction. He instanced in Amphictyon, who established in Greece a council or assembly, wherein the whole nation in conjunction laboured unanimously to preserve between all the cities a strict union, and to aid one another against the common enemy. He spoke to them likewise of the Ionians and Dorians, who at the common charge built temples, to which they all repaired on certain days with their wives and children. There they offered together sacrifices and oblations to the Gods, and attended their traffic and commerce. The festival ended, wherein things were transacted with all the signs of the most cordial friendship, if there were any disputes between the cities, or causes of complaint, the differences were amicably determined by arbiters appointed on purpose, whose sentence was decisive. Servius exhorted the Latines to do the same. The great men readily came into his project, and were followed by their respective cities. Accordingly, the Latines joined with the Romans in building at the common expence a temple to Diana on mount Aventine, where the people

of each city met every year to offer sacrifices, exercise commerce, and decide by arbitration private differences. This was, in the Latines, a tacit confession that Rome was their capital, which had been before the occasion of so many wars *. The course of the history will show how conducive this alliance with the Latines was to the grandeur of Rome, which in some measure doubled her strength, and what a blessing to a state is an able Prince, truly capable of governing, who has great views, and is attentive to all the duties of royalty.

The treaty then concluded by Servius with the Latines was engraven on a brazen pillar, which, in the time of Dionysius Halicarnassensis, was still to be seen in the temple of Diana. It was Latin, but inscribed in Greek letters, such as were antiently used in Greece: which, says that historian, is no slender proof that the founders of Rome were originally Grecians. The likeness between the Latin and the old Grecian letters is confirmed by a passage in Pliny †.

Servius thought to crown all his great actions with resigning the royalty, and making Rome a commonwealth; and had already described in a memoir the whole model of the new government, when a death, which may be called untimely, though he was of a great age, prevented the execution of so noble a design. In relating the circumstances of his tragical end, I must look back a little.

Servius had two daughters by Tarquinia, daughter of Tarquinius Priscus. When they were marriageable, he gave them to their cousin-germans, that prince's two grandsons. His sons-in-law met each in their spouses dispositions entirely opposite to their genius and temper. Lucius, the elder brother, a man daring, haughty, and cruel, had a wife of a meek, reasonable spirit, full of tenderness and respect for her father.

* Ea erat confessio, caput rerum Romam esse; de quo toties armis certatum fuerat. Liv.

† Veteres Græcas fuisse easdem penè quæ nunc sunt Latinæ, indicio erit Delphica tabula antiqui æris, quæ est hodie in Palatio, &c. PLIN. l. 7. c. 58.

Aruns, the younger brother, much more humane and tractable, found in young Tullia one of your bold enterprising women, capable of the blackest deeds. Fortune, says Livy *, seems to have avoided the conjunction of two violent tempers, to prolong Servius's reign, and enable him to settle the government of Rome on firm and lasting foundations.

Young Tullia, as I said, violent and impetuous, perceiving neither ambition nor daringness in her husband, bore with uneasiness his peaceable temper, by her called indolence and cowardice. Inclined entirely to the other Tarquin, she ceased not to praise, admire, extol him, as a man of spirit, as a prince worthy his birth. She spoke with contempt of her sister, for so ill seconding such a husband. Likeness of temper and inclinations quickly united L. Tarquin and young Tullia †. In the private conversations which she often procured with her brother-in-law, she used the most injurious and contumelious language, to inspire him with a contempt for her husband and sister. She said, "It would have been much better for them both to remain unmarried, than to be joined to tempers contrary to their own, and forced by the stupidity of others shamefully to languish away their time. If the Gods had given her the husband she deserved, she would soon behold in her family the crown she saw in her father's." It was not hard to infuse her sentiments into the prince, and bend him to her designs. They immediately plotted the death, the one of her husband, the other of his wife: and after the execution of the double murder, they joined together their fortunes and furious tempers in marriage, which Servius dared not oppose, though he dreaded the fatal consequences of it.

As they now saw no other obstacle to their ambition but Servius's life, the thirst of dominion quickly carried them from their first crime to another still more

* Forte ita inciderat, ne duo violenta ingenia matrimonio jungerentur; fortunâ credo populi Romani, quo diuturnius Servii regnum esset, constituique civitatis mores possent. LIV.

† Contrahit celeriter similitudo eos, ut ferè sit malum malo aptissimum. LIV.

horrible ; that fury, which Tarquin had always by his side, not letting him rest night or day, for fear of losing the fruit of her first parricides. What words did she not use ? “ She had indeed found a man that
 “ was called her husband, and with whom she might
 “ live in a private and dishonourable servitude ; not a
 “ prince who thought himself worthy a throne, who remembered he was grandson to King Tarquin, and
 “ chose rather to seize the scepter than wait for it. If
 “ you are the man I imagine myself married to, I
 “ call you my husband, my lord, and my King. But
 “ if not, my condition is so far altered for the worse,
 “ as I find here wickedness joined to cowardice. Dare
 “ only, and you will meet no obstacle. You need not,
 “ like your grandfather, cross the seas, or travel to
 “ Rome from Corinth or Tarquinii to acquire with
 “ difficulty a foreign kingdom. Your household Gods,
 “ the image of your grandfather, the palace you are
 “ in, the throne you daily behold, the name of Tarquin, all create and salute you king. If you want
 “ courage for these things, why do you still disappoint
 “ the city ? why do you appear like a prince that expects to reign ? Be gone from hence to Tarquinii or
 “ Corinth : return back to your first original, more
 “ like your brother than grandfather.” *

With such language she incessantly spurred him on, and herself too, by comparing herself to Tanaquil, who, though a stranger in Rome, had twice together disposed of the scepter, first to her husband, then to her son-in-law ; whilst she, sprung from royal blood, could do nothing towards giving or taking away the crown.

Tarquin, encouraged by the speeches of this domestic fury, throws off all restraint, and resolutely pursues the wicked design. He labours to gain the Sena-

* *Situ is es, cui nuptam esse me arbitror, & virum & regem appello ; sin minus, eo nunc pejus mutata est res, quod isthic cum ignavia est scelus. Quin accingeris ? Non tibi ab Corintho, nec ab Tarquiniiis, ut patri tuo, peregrina regna moliri necesse est. Dii te penates, patriique, & patris imago, & domus regia, & in domo regale folium, & nomen Tarquinium creat vocatque regem. Aut si ad hæc parum est animi, quid frustraris civitatem ? quid te ut regium juvenem conspici finis ? Faceffe hinc Tarquinius, aut Corinthum. Devolvere retro ad stirpem, fratri similior quam patri. Liv.*

tors, especially of the new creation. He reminds them of what his grandfather had done for them, and urges them to show their gratitude to him. He engages the youth to him by presents, and daily increases his party by his affability, and by promising wonders of himself, whilst he loads the King with the blackest aspersions.

When he thought the proper hour was come to discover his intention, surrounded with a guard he abruptly enters the Forum. Fear seizing all, he advances to the Senate-house, seats himself on the throne, and orders the Senators to be convened in King Tarquin's name. They instantly assemble, some prepared beforehand, others for fear their absence should be deemed a crime; the greatest part surprized and troubled at so strange and unexpected an event, and believing Servius undone. Then Tarquin begins with saying, "Servius, a slave, and the son of a slave, after the unworthy death of his grandfather, had seized the kingdom by the practices of a woman, without the customary interregnum, without the suffrages of the People, or the consent of the Senate. Thus born, thus created King, he had been a protector of those that like himself were sprung from the dregs of the people, and out of hatred to a noble extraction, he had dispossessed the Patricians of their lands, to give them to persons of the meanest condition. The burdens and taxes which before were equally divided, were by him thrown upon the nobles alone. He had established the Census for no other end but to expose to envy the fortune of the rich, and to have wherewithal to gratify his creatures, that is, the meanest and most beggarly part of the city."

Servius, upon information of what passed in the Senate, comes in whilst Tarquin was thus haranguing: and with a loud voice cries out the moment he sees him on the throne, "What! Tarquin, dare you, while I am alive, to call the Senate, and sit in my throne?" Tarquin fiercely replied, "He sat in his grandfather's seat, to which a grandson had more right than a slave: Servius had too long insulted his betters, and abused their

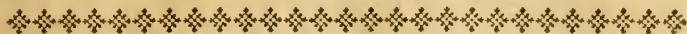
their patience." Their favourers, on both sides, made a great noise, the People at the same time rushed into the Senate, and it appeared the quarrel was to be decided by force.

Then Tarquin, seeing a necessity of coming to extremities, as he was young and vigorous, takes the old man by the waste, carries him out of the assembly, and throws him down the steps into the Forum; then returns into the Senate. Servius, all over bruised, and more dead than alive, was led towards his palace by a few officers that had not deserted him out of fear. He had scarce reached the street called Vicus Cyprius (1), when he was overtaken and murdered by persons sent after him by Tarquin. It is believed, and with great probability, that the deed was done by Tullia's advice. It is certain, she hastily came forth at the first noise, and crossing the Forum in her chariot, without any regard to the decencies of her sex, or the manners of the time, drove to the Senate, called out her husband, and first saluted him King. He ordered her immediately to withdraw out of the tumult. When, in her return, she came to the end of the Cyprian street, the coachman, turning to the left to go up the Esquiline hill, stopped short struck with horror, and showed his mistress Servius's body covered with blood. The sight served only to exasperate and harden Tullia. The Furies, avengers of her sister and husband (says Livy) quite bereaved her at that instant of her reason: so that forgetting, not only the sentiments of nature, but even of humanity, she ordered the chariot to be driven over her father's body, which occasioned the street to be called Vicus Sceleratus (the street of wickedness). She entered her house as in triumph, sure of reigning for the future, and rejoicing within herself for the happy success of her villanies. So many horrors would seem incredible if the effects of ambition were not known.

Servius Tullius reigned forty years. Had the best prince in the world been his successor, he would have

(1) Cyprius, says Varro, signifies in the old Sabine language, good, or happy.

found it difficult to equal his reputation, so mild and gentle had his reign been. Tarquin carried his inhumanity so far as to deny him the funeral solemnities of a King. His body was by his widow Tarquinia conveyed in the night to his tomb with a few friends only; and, as if she had survived her husband but to pay him these last duties, she died presently after.



C H A P. VII.

The REIGN of TARQUINIUS SUPERBUS.

Tarquin governs tyrannically. He makes the Latines his friends: destroys Turnus Herdonius, who opposes his designs: concludes a treaty with the Latines: erects a temple to Jupiter Latialis. His war with the Sabines: he takes the city of Gabii by stratagem. Tarquin during peace builds the Capitol. The Sibyl's books. Brutus attends two of his sons to Delphos. Character of Brutus. Siege of Ardea. Fatal death of Lucretia, which occasions the expulsion of the Kings. State of Rome.

TARQUIN ascended the throne, without the observance of any of the laws which till then had been practised: nor was the royalty conferred on him either by People or Senate. His after-conduct was agreeable to such beginnings, and justly procured him the surname of Superbus, the Proud; which word, in the Latin tongue, joins the idea of cruelty to that of pride.

A. R. 220.
Ant. C.
532.
Dionys.
l. 4. p. 244
—246.
Liv. l. 1.
c. 49.

At his very accession to empire, he began to affect an air of haughtiness and pride, not only to the people, but the nobles themselves who had promoted his advancement. He entirely altered the discipline of the Kings his predecessors: subverted the wisest regulations, and trampling upon the laws of equity, pursued in all his actions the methods of tyrannical and arbitrary power.

power. He appointed a guard of the most resolute men he could find, whether Romans or foreigners, and armed them with swords and lances. Their business was to stand centry by night round the palace, to attend him by day wherever he went, and continually watch for his safety. He seldom came abroad, and never at regular hours. He held his councils in private with his most trusty friends, rarely in public, nor did he consult the Senate on any affair. His guards suffered no man to approach him that was not sent for; and they that were admitted to his audience, far from being favourably received, met with severe looks and threatening language, capable of breeding terror; and happy was that man, whose fear was his only punishment.

When Tarquin thought his power firmly established, he suborned the most profligate of his creatures to inform against such eminent citizens as he had a mind to destroy. He began with those that he knew were not in his interest, and had shown indignation at Servius's death. He proceeded to such as disliked the new government: then he attacked the wealthiest persons of Rome; for, under such a prince, riches become a crime. Informations were brought against those he wanted to dispatch, as guilty of various offences, and chiefly for attempts upon his person. Upon general accusations, without any manner of proof, he condemned some to death, and others to banishment. He seized all their estates, with a small part of which he rewarded the informers. The dread of these unjust prosecutions drove from Rome a great number of the principal citizens. Some were put to death without any noise, others carried by force from their houses: some seized in the country and cruelly murdered, whose bodies could not be found after their death. By these unjust and cruel proceedings he destroyed the best part of the Senate, and filled not the vacancies, to render that body the more contemptible by the smallness of their number, and prevent their complaints of not being consulted. For war, peace, treaties, alliances,
Tarquin

Tarquin transacted all by himself, without the advice either of People or Senate.

He prohibited by an edict, both in town and country, all the assemblies, wherein the same Curia or neighbouring villages used to meet for the celebration of festivals and sacrifices, lest the citizens thus assembled should form some design against his person or government. Moreover, he had spies in every place, who crept into all companies and entertainments, to be witnesses of what passed, and who frequently began first to speak ill of the King, for the better discovering the sentiments of others. They failed not instantly to make their report to the Tyrant; and whoever had let fall the least word against the present state of affairs, was infallibly condemned to the severest punishments.

How well settled soever Tarquin's authority might be, he reflected, that a power established by force of arms alone, in contempt of the most sacred laws, was liable to strange revolutions, if it was not strengthened with a foreign support against the domestic contents and commotions. To that end, he courted the alliance of one of the principal Latine nobles, Octavius Mamilius, to whom he married his daughter. Mamilius resided at Tusculum, where his high birth, deduced by him from Telegonus, son of Ulysses and Circe, gave him the first rank. He was also reckoned an able warrior and experienced general. This alliance procured him the amity of all the powerful and considerable persons among the Latines.

Depending therefore upon a strong assistance from thence, he thought of a war with the Sabines, who had thrown off the yoke after Servius's death. To that end he appointed a meeting of the Latine cities at Terentina. All the deputies repaired thither very early on the day fixed by himself. Tarquin made them wait till almost sun-set. Most of the deputies were very angry at his delay. But especially Turnus Herdonius, deputy of Aricia, powerful for his riches and friends, fiercely inveighed against Tarquin, of whose arrogance and pride he gave several instances in his conduct, and

par-

Dionys.
l. 4. P. 246
—249.
Liv. l. 1.
c. 49—52.

particularly his contempt, in not coming to the assembly which was called by himself. Whilst he was speaking, Tarquin arrived. A profound silence ensued, and all the deputies rose up to salute him. The King began with making excuse for coming so late, alledging he was detained by an arbitration between a father and son. "Such an arbitration (replies Turnus) " is of all others the shortest: the son need only be " told, unless he obeys his father, mischief will be- " fall him." Upon saying these words, Turnus withdrew, and it being now late, the assembly was put off to next day.

Tarquin was not of a temper patiently to bear the affront he had received. He presently projects a revenge which none but himself would have thought of. He bribes with money Turnus's servants that brought his baggage; and engages them to suffer arms to be conveyed in the night to their master's lodgings, and concealed among the baggage. The thing was done speedily, and without noise.

On the morrow, before day, Tarquin sends for the deputies upon an urgent affair of the utmost importance. He tells them, " His coming yesterday so late to the assembly was by a particular providence of the Gods, and for the safety of them all. Turnus had plotted all their deaths to become sole master of the Latines; and would have executed his project the day before, if the person he chiefly aimed at had not delayed his coming. His invectives against him were owing to the vexation of being disappointed: but his wicked design was only deferred; he did not question but he was to come that morning to the assembly with a band of armed conspirators: for he had received intelligence that a great quantity of arms had been conveyed to his house. It was easy as well as important to know the truth, and therefore desired them to accompany him to Turnus's lodgings."

Turnus's violent temper, his yesterday's speech, and Tarquin's coming so late, which might indeed have caused the project to be delayed, rendered the thing
not

not improbable. They go therefore with an inclination to believe the fact, but determined however not to give credit without the testimony of their own eyes, and the sight and touch of the swords. At their coming to the house, the guards surround Turnus, waked by the noise. Every corner is searched, and the arms are produced. The truth of the conspiracy is no longer doubted. The assembly is immediately called, and Turnus brought thither bound hand and foot. The sight of the arms, which were exposed to view in the middle of the room, raised such indignation, that, without hearing the accused, the deputies, terrified, and still trembling for fear of their supposed danger, condemned him to die. He was immediately executed, by being thrown into the head of the Ferentine spring, and drowned under a hurdle covered with stones (1).

A moment's reflection and examination in cool blood, would have quickly dispelled this chimerical plot, and shown the calumny in its true colours, by a thousand gross contradictions which must have been visible to persons of the least penetration. But passion, blind and deaf, neither sees nor hears any thing, and shuts the door against reason and truth.

Tarquin was thanked in full assembly for the important service done by him to the whole Latine nation, in delivering the heads of the cities from so imminent danger; and in reward of his false accusation, acknowledged sovereign of the whole country, on the same terms and with the same honours as his grandfather Tarquin had been before him.

Tarquin, by this resolution, peaceable possessor of the empire of the Latines, sent to the Volsci and Hernici to enter into his alliance and friendship. Of all the Volsci, only the Ecetransians and Antiates accepted his offers: the Hernici were more compliable, and all came into the league.

For the strengthening of these new alliances, Tarquin proposed erecting a temple common to the Ro-

(1) Ut indicta causa, novo genere lethi, ad caput aquæ Ferentinæ, crate superne injecta, saxisque congestis mergeretur. Liv. l. 1. c. 51.

Dionys.
l. 4. p. 250.

mans, Latines, and Hernici, that in a yearly meeting of all in the same place, they might sacrifice and feast together, and treat of their common affairs. Tarquin's project was universally approved, and a hill which commands Alba, and lies almost in the center of Latium, was chosen for the general meeting. In that place, where Jupiter was afterwards worshipped by the name of Latialis, Tarquin ordered sacrifices to be offered in the name of the Romans and all the Latine cities, fairs to be kept, and feasts to be made, for the preservation of union and commerce between all these nations. People from forty-seven different cities repaired to these annual feasts, which were ever after very punctually celebrated, and were called *Feriæ Latinæ*.

It is observable, the consuls never took the field, nor went into the provinces, before they had visited the temple of Jupiter Latialis, and solemnized the *Feriæ Latinæ*, which they appointed themselves at what time they pleased.

Dionys.

l. 4. p. 250

---252.

Liv. l. 1.

c. 53.

If Tarquin was an unjust King in peace, he was not in like manner an ill general in war*: but in that respect would have been as famous as the Kings his predecessors, had not his other faults eclipsed the lustre of his martial virtues and exploits. More secure than ever of his authority after the renewal of the treaties with the Latine cities, he resolved to march against the Sabines, and particularly the Volsci, who had refused to enter into the league accepted by the Latines, and had ravaged the Roman territory. He gave the Volsci battle on their borders, slew great numbers of their men, put the rest to flight, and forced them into Sueffa-Pometia, one of their best cities. He besieged it in form, and after a long and brave resistance took it by storm. Tarquin, master of the city, put all to the sword that were found in arms. The booty was considerable, a tenth part of which he reserved for building the Capitol.

* Nec, ut injustus in pace rex, ita dux belli pravus fuit. Quum ea arte æquasset superiores reges, ni degeneratum in aliis huic quoque decori officisset. Liv.

He met with greater difficulty in taking Gabii, a Latine city, and was at last obliged to raise the siege. Dionys. l. 4. p. 252. Liv. l. 1. c. 53—58. Gabii stood about a hundred stadia (or furlongs) from Rome, in the road to Præneste. He did not, however, despair of taking it, and only used stratagem instead of force, which had been so unsuccessful. Sextus, the eldest of his three sons †, with his father's consent fled to Gabii, complaining of Tarquin's insupportable cruelty. He lamented his misfortune in terms capable of moving the hardest heart. He told them, "Being in danger every moment of losing his life by the hands of his father, he had with difficulty escaped from his fury, and was come to them for refuge. If they refused to receive him, he would go from city to city till he found those that would defend children against the cruelty of fathers. And perhaps they that afforded him protection would have no cause to repent it." The Gabians looked upon his coming as a particular providence, and gave him an extraordinary reception. He was loaded with honours, and admitted into all their councils. When any other matter was under debate, he readily submitted to the opinion of the Gabians, as better acquainted with the affairs of their country than a foreigner, like him; but as for the war with the Romans, as he perfectly knew the strength of the two nations, and how his father was hated and detested by the Romans, he concealed not his belief that he could speak on that subject more knowingly than others. And indeed, he drew into his sentiment the principal Gabians. War with the Romans was resolved. He was himself put at the head of a strong party, sent out to plunder the lands of the enemies, and always returned with a considerable booty. He so gained the confidence of the Gabians, that he was chosen their general. Under his conduct they had always the advantage in their engagements with the Romans. These good successes rendered him almost as absolute at Gabii as Tarquin was at Rome.

† He was the youngest according to Livy. *Minimus ex tribus erat.* Lib. 1. c. 53.

Sextus, perceiving the hour come of reaping the fruit of his impostures, sent, unknown to the Gabians, a man to his father, to tell him his situation, and to know his commands. Tarquin, unwilling to trust the messenger with any verbal answer to his son, leads him into the garden, where grew a great many poppies. There, walking in a grave and thoughtful posture, he amuses himself with striking off the heads of the highest poppies: and having taken several turns, sends back the messenger with no other answer *. Sextus easily guessed his father's meaning. He puts to death on various pretences the persons of the greatest credit at Gabii, and become master by the cruel dexterity of striking off heads, betrays the city at last to the Romans.

The Gabians expected the severest and most inhuman treatment. They were agreeably deceived. Tarquin neither executed nor banished a single person. He deprived no man of his estate or dignity. He seemed to forget the character of tyrant to assume that of King, and assembling the Gabians, told them he would restore them their estates and their city. He acted thus for the farther securing the empire of Rome by their means, persuaded that the fidelity of these conquered people, whom he treated with so much humanity, would for the future be his strongest support, and that full of gratitude they would uphold him and his children on the throne. Had he treated the Romans in that manner, he would have had no occasion for a foreign aid against his own subjects. But he could not remember, that the strongest bulwark of the throne is the love of the people †.

That the Gabians might have nothing to fear for the future, and might consider as sure and lasting the favour he had granted them, he wrote with his own hand the terms on which he received them into his protection

* Thraſybulus of Miletium had formerly given the same advice to Periander tyrant of Corinth, and much after the same manner.

† [Regi] unum est inexpugnabile munimentum, amor civium. SEN. de clem. l. 1. c. 19.

and friendship, confirmed from that time the treaty of alliance by a solemn oath on the victims that were sacrificed. We have at this day (says Dionysius Halicarnassensis) Tarquin's treaty with the Gabians. It is to be seen in the temple of Jupiter Fidius, (called by the Romans Sanctus *) on a wooden shield covered with the hide of an ox sacrificed on that occasion. The articles of the treaty, written in old characters on the hide, are still legible. This done, he makes his eldest son Sextus King of Gabii, and returns with his forces to Rome. He afterwards advanced in like manner two other sons, Aruns over Circæum, and Titus over Signia.

Dionys.
P. 257.

Tarquin, freed, at least in part, from the troubles of war, turned his thoughts to the works left unfinished by his grandfather. He undertook to carry to the Tyber the subterraneous passages for conveyance of the water and filth of the city, which were but just begun, and surround with porticos, for a shelter to the spectators, the amphitheatre raised by Tarquinius Priscus: works, that the magnificence of Augustus's age (says † Livy) could hardly equal. The meaner sort of people were great sufferers by them, for Tarquin, as covetous as cruel, paid them very poorly, and treated them harshly. Particularly the persons employed in digging the subterraneous canals endured a great deal, and caught mortal distempers, caused by the contagious stink of the muddy waters.

Dionys.
P. 246.
Liv. c. 55.

His principal and most material work was building the temple of Jupiter, pursuant to his grandfather's vow. Tarquin the Elder, in his last battle with the Sabines, promised temples to Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva, if by their aid he obtained the victory. Believing he was heard, he had, with immense labour, filled up the steep top of the Tarpeian hill, and levelled the ground on which he intended to build. But death put a stop to his works. Tarquin, who had reserved

Dionys.
l. 4. P. 257
— 259.
Liv. l. 1.
c. 55.

* According to others, Saucus, or Sanguis.

† Quibus duobus operibus vix nova hæc magnificentia quicquam æquare potuit,

for raising these edifices the tenths of the spoils of Sueſſa Pometia, ſent for a great number of workmen from Hetruria, to begin the undertaking. He was alſo obliged afterwards to employ the citizens; and though their labour was by it greatly increaſed, they complained not, pleaſed with the honour of building the temples of the Gods with their own hands †. This religious ſentiment is noble in Heathens, and ſhould make us bluſh.

Dionyſ.

l. 3. p. 202.

Liv. l. 1.

c. 55.

The hiſtorians have adorned the foundation of this temple with many prodigies, all portending the future grandeur of the Roman empire. It was doubted in what part of the hill the foundations ſhould be digged, becauſe there were ſeveral Gods which had altars on the ſame hill, and which were to be removed to make room for the new edifice. The Augurs reſolved to conſult each Deity one after another, and not touch their altars before they had given their conſent. The conſulted Gods agreed that their altars might be removed elſewhere, except the God Terminus and the Goddeſs of Youth, who could not be prevailed with by the prayers of the Augurs, and reſuſed to give place. The Augurs thence conjectured that the bounds of the city and empire ſhould ſtand for ever, and Rome always flouriſh with youth and vigour. The two Deities were incloſed within the temple. Dionyſius Halicarnanſſenſis places this event under Tarquin the Elder, and Livy under Tarquin the Proud.

Dionyſ.

l. 4. p. 257.

Liv. c. 55.

Whiſt the foundations of this ſtately edifice were laying, another ſtrange prodigy appeared. Very deep in the earth was found a man's head, as freſh as if it had been juſt cut off, and dyed with blood of a lively red colour. Tarquin, ſurprized at this accident, ordered a ceſſation of work, and the ſoothſayers to be adviſed with. The moſt ſkilful of them (he was an Hetrurian) after conſulting the Augurs, returned this anſwer to the deputies: "O Romans, tell your fellow-citizens, it is the will of the Fates, that the place

† Qui cūm haud parvus & ipſe militiæ adderetur labor, minis tamen plebs gravabatur, ſe templa deūm exadificare manibus ſuis.

" where

“ where a head has been found, shall one day be the “ Capital of Italy.” From that time the hill, called first the Saturnian, then the Tarpeian, was named the Capitol, from the Latin word *caput*, signifying head.

Tarquin, animated with fresh zeal by this answer, resumed the work, and forwarded it considerably : but he could not entirely finish it, because of his expulsion from Rome at the time he was about to bring it to perfection. The temple was not completed till the third year of the consular government. It was built on the top of the hill, in length two hundred feet, with almost the same breadth. It may be judged of (says Dionysius Halicarnassensis) by the temple raised in the days of our fathers on the foundations of the old one, which was consumed with fire, and from which it differs only in the riches and magnificence of its ornaments. Though the building was chiefly dedicated to Jupiter, it contained, however, two other temples or chapels under the same roof. One of these chapels was sacred to Juno, the other to Minerva : in the middle stood Jupiter’s. The front of the Capitol (says Dionysius Halicarnassensis, speaking of that which was rebuilt) looks to the south, and faces the Forum. A peristyle runs quite round. In the front are three rows of pillars : the sides have but two. One hundred very large steps at a considerable distance from one another, lead up to the temple [from the Forum.]

In reflecting on so stately an edifice as was Tarquin’s Capitol, it is astonishing to see such magnificence and taste for architecture, in a city not very antient, and generally involved in wars. To judge of the grandeur of Rome by her projects and undertakings, she seems to have thought herself from that time destined to become the metropolis and mistress of the world. And indeed it will appear by a close examination of her proceedings and policy, as well in war as in peace, that every thing seemed to tend to that end, not certainly by a knowledge of futurity, (for whence should she have it ?) but by a sort of

instinct and secret presage, or rather, to speak more justly, by a superior providence, infused into her without her perception, by the Supreme Arbiter of states and empires, who, for the execution of his particular designs, directed all her steps, and caused her to take on every occasion the most proper means for establishing and increasing her power.

It is observable, all the Heathen historians generally ascribe the greatness and power of the Romans to a divine protection, declared in their favour after an extraordinary and singular manner. Is it natural, indeed, that seven Kings successively, of different countries and families, and often of contrary tempers, should steadily follow the same political views, and the same principles of government? The last Tarquin must, however, be excepted in several respects. Where do we find an instance of a like uniformity in any history whatsoever? Does not the experience of all ages, and of all nations, show that the successor is pleased with pulling down what has been set up by his predecessor, and that every prince has his peculiar notions, manners, and fancies? whereas at Rome we see a plan pursued, which the various regulations of the Kings, all tending to the same end, serve only to strengthen and complete.

Not but that in many things the Roman government had its weaknesses and failings, witness the servile dependence on the Aruspices and Augurs, the blind credulity for the most obscure oracles, and for omens; witness the casual meeting of things, dreams, Sibylline books, of which I am going to speak, and a thousand other silly particulars. But notwithstanding all this, the affairs of the state were in the main conducted with extraordinary prudence.

Dionys.

l. 4. p. 259.
260.

It was in this reign that the Sibylline writings were brought to Rome. An unknown and strange woman came to the King, and offered to sell him nine volumes of the Sibylline oracles. Tarquin refusing to give the money she demanded, she burnt three volumes, and returned some time after with the other six, asking the

the same price as she had done for the nine. She was looked upon as a mad-woman, and her offer rejected with scorn and contempt. Then she burnt three volumes more, and appearing before the King, told him she was going to burn the last three, if he would not give her what she demanded at first. Tarquin surprized at the woman's obstinacy, sent for the Augurs, who said he could not purchase too dear the remaining books. The woman immediately received the money, and charging them to be kept with great care, instantly vanished.

All this has much the air of a trick invented by Tarquin himself, to impose upon the people, and to find in the books of the Sibyls whatever the government pleased, of which in the sequel we have several instances. Be this as it will, the King committed the custody of the new treasure to two persons chosen out of the nobility, and appointed under them two public officers to take care of its preservation. But after the expulsion of the Kings, the republic was more particularly careful of these mysterious books. They were put into a stone-chest, which was deposited in one of the vaults under the Capitol, and committed to the keeping of officers appointed for that purpose. They were but two a good while. In the year of Rome 387, the number was increased to ten, and afterwards by Sylla to fifteen (1). They were persons of the first rank, and on this account exempted from all burdensome offices. The Sibylline oracles were consulted by an order of the Senate, upon insurrections and seditions in the state, upon any notable defeat, upon a plague or other contagious distemper, and upon prodigies portending some great disaster. In the conflagration of the Capitol during the wars of Marius and Sylla, the Sibylline books were burnt with the temple. This loss was deemed the greatest that could happen to the republic, and people were sent into all the provinces of the empire, and to the neighbour-

(1) They were at first called Duumviri, afterwards Decemviri, and lastly Quindecemviri, and were an order of priesthood.

ing Kings and allies, to gather up what could be found of the Sibylline oracles. A collection was made to apply to as before upon extraordinary occasions.

There is nothing more obscure or uncertain than what is related of the Sibyls (1). Thus were called certain women, who pretended to divine inspiration, and knowledge of the future. Neither their number nor the time of their appearance is known. Varro reckons ten: of which the most famous are, the Delphian, the Erythræan, the Cūmæan (2). The last is supposed to offer Tarquin a collection of the oracles of several Sibyls. The fathers are divided in their opinions upon this subject. The greatest part believed them inspired by the Devil; some by God himself in reward of their virginity. The last opinion is not very likely. The Sibylline books now extant are undoubtedly spurious. The great secrecy wherewith the books of the Sibyls and all that related to them were kept, afforded the keepers means to forge such predictions as they pleased. We have seen how the opposers of Ptolemy Auletes's restoration to the throne, had dressed up a Sibylline oracle directly against him. Cæsar, in his earnest desire to be called King, spread among the people a report, that it was expressly asserted by the Sibylline books, "The kingdom of the Parthians shall be conquered by the Romans when they make war under the conduct of a King: but otherwise they shall never enter there." These Sibylline books were thus one of the mysteries in the government, made use of by those that had them in their power, to lead the people by a false appearance of religion (3). I return to Tarquin.

Plat. in
Cæf.
p. 755.

Dionys.
l. 4. p. 264,
265.
Liv. l. 1.
c. 56.

An unexpected prodigy in the palace about the time I am speaking of, namely, a serpent suddenly rushing

(1) Sibylla, quasi *οὐκ βελή*, that is, Dei consilium, the counsel of God.

(2) As well from Cuma in Æolis, as from Cumæ in Italy. Some make the Sibyls nine, some four, some three, and some but one.

(3) The copies or extracts that were gathered up in Greece and other parts were kept with the same superstition as the former, till about the time of Theodosius the Great; when, the Senate being mostly Christians, they grew out of vogue, and at last were all burnt by Stilicho, under Honorius.

forth

forth from a wooden pillar, gave the King great uneasiness, and obliged him to send on purpose to Delphos to consult the oracle upon it. He thought proper to trust the affair with none but his two sons, Titus and Aruns. They desired that their cousin Brutus might also go with them. As Brutus will presently make a great figure in our history, it is necessary to describe him.

Brutus was son of Marcus Junius, descended from one of Æneas's followers, and distinguished among the Romans by his singular merit. His mother was Tarquinia, daughter of King Tarquin the Elder. He received a happy education, which formed his manners to the genius of the nation. He had great endowments, as well of nature as art. But seeing many of the most considerable citizens put to death by Tarquin for the sake of their spoils, among others his father Junius and elder brother, he resolved to leave nothing in his person or fortune that might rouse the fear or avarice of the King, and to seek in contempt a security which he could not expect from justice and the laws. He counterfeited therefore the idiot, assumed all the airs and ways of one, suffered himself to be stripped of all his possessions without a murmur, and became the sport of the court; which gained him, as silly and weak, the surname of Brutus. He gladly took it, in order to conceal under that opprobrious name the Deliverer of the Roman people, which it was not yet time to discover*.

The two princes carried Brutus with them to Delphos, not so much for a companion, as to divert them in their journey by his foolish and ridiculous actions. When they were come, they offered their presents to Apollo, and jested very much upon Brutus for offering only a stick. It was an elder-stick, in which he

* Neque in animo suo quicquam regi timendum, neque in fortuna concupiscendum relinquere statuit; contemptu tutus esse, ubi in jure parum præsidii esset. Ergo ex industria factus ad imitationem stultitiæ, cum se suæque prædiæ esse regi sineret, Bruti quoque haud abnuvit cognomen, ut sub ejus obtentu cognominis liberator ille populi Romani animus latens, opperretur tempora sua. Liv.

had privately inclosed a gold rod, an emblem of his character and mind. When Tarquin's sons had discharged their commission, and received an answer on the occasion of their embassy, they were seized with the curiosity of knowing which of them was destined to reign. "He," answered the oracle, "who shall first kiss his mother." The Tarquins agreed to keep the thing secret, that their brother Sextus, who staid at Rome, might know nothing of it, and so be excluded the throne; and resolved to draw lots who should first kiss their mother at their return to Rome. Our ideot appeared, by the event, to have better understood the oracle; for pretending to fall down by chance, he kissed the earth, persuaded she is the common mother of all mankind. When they came back to Rome, they found a war entered into against the Rutuli.

Liv. l. 1.
c. 56---60.
Dionys.

l. 4. p. 261

—277.

Tarquin formed the siege of Ardea, capital of the Rutuli, situate three miles from the sea, and twenty from Rome, on pretence that the Romans he had banished were harboured in that city, and their restoration endeavoured; but in reality because it was the wealthiest city of Latium, and he had a mind to the riches, which he much wanted for the extraordinary expences he was engaged in by his structures. The King found more resistance than he imagined, and the assault which at first had been very brisk, grew remiss by degrees. Whilst the siege, which had now lasted some time, and was carried on but slowly by Tarquin, afforded a good deal of leisure, the princes his sons passed the time in entertainments and diversions. Ardea was not above six or seven leagues from Rome.

One day, as they were at supper at Sextus Tarquin's with Collatinus, Lucretia's husband, the conversation ran upon the merit of their wives. Every one gave his own the preference. "What signify so many words," says Collatinus? "You may in a few hours, if you please, be convinced by your own eyes how much my Lucretia excels the rest. We are young: Let us mount our horses, and go and surprize them. No— thing

“ thing can better decide our dispute than the state
 “ we shall find them in at a time when most certainly
 “ they will not expect us.” They were a little warm’d
 with wine. “ Come on, let us go,” they all cry together.
 They quickly galloped to Rome, where they find the princesses, wives of the young Tarquins, surrounded with company, amidst diversions and good cheer. From thence they ride to Collatia, where they saw Lucretia in a very different situation. With her women about her, she was at work in the inner part of her house. The victory was adjudged to her unanimously. She received her guests with all possible politeness and civility.

Lucretia’s virtue, which should have commanded respect, was the very thing that kindled in the breast of Sextus Tarquin, a very dissolute prince, a strong and detestable passion. Within a few days he returned to Collatia; and, after having in vain tried all manner of ways to seduce her, at length declares he will not only murder her, but to destroy her reputation with her life, will also kill a slave, and place him by her side in the bed. Lucretia’s constancy, which had been proof against the fear of death, could not hold out against the fear of infamy. The young prince having satisfied his passion, returned home as in triumph *.

On the morrow, Lucretia, overwhelmed with grief and despair, sent early in the morning to desire her father and husband to come to her, and bring with them each a trusty friend: assuring them there was no time to lose. They came with all speed, the one accompanied with Valerius (so famous afterwards by the name of Publicola) and the other with Brutus. The moment she saw them come in, she could not command her tears: and when her husband asked if all was well: “ By no means (says † she): For how can it
 “ be

* Quo terrore cum vicisset obstinatam pudiciam velut victrix libido, profectus inde Tarquinius ferox, expugnato decore muliebri. LIV.

† Adventu suorum lacrymæ obortæ; quærentique viro, Satin’ salvæ? Minime, inquit. Quid enim salvi est mulieri amissa pudicia? Vestigia viri alieni, Collatine, in lecto sunt tuo. Ceterum, corpus est tantum

" be well with a woman after the loss of her honour ?
 " Yes, Collatinus, thy bed has been defiled by a
 " stranger. But my body only is polluted, my mind
 " is innocent, as my death shall witness. Promise
 " me only not to suffer the adulterer to go unpunish-
 " ed. It is Sextus Tarquinius, who last night, treache-
 " rous guest, or rather cruel foe, offered me violence,
 " and reaped a joy fatal to me, but, if you are men,
 " still more fatal to him." All promised to revenge
 her †, and at the same time tried to comfort her with
 representing, that " the mind only sins, not the body ;
 and where the consent is wanting, there can be no
 guilt." " What Sextus deserves" (replies Lucretia)
 " I leave you to judge : but for me, though I declare
 " myself innocent of the crime, I exempt not myself
 " from the punishment. No immodest woman shall
 " plead Lucretia's example to outlive her dishonour."
 Thus saying, she plunges into her breast a dagger she
 had concealed under her robe. Her father and her
 husband cry out, but Brutus, without losing time in
 shedding fruitless tears, draws out of Lucretia's breast
 the dagger all bloody, and holding it up. " I swear,"
 (says he) " by this blood so pure and chaste before
 " Tarquin's pollution, and I call you, O Gods, to
 " witness, that with fire and sword I will pursue the
 " tyrant, his wife, and all his guilty race ; nor will
 " I suffer any person for the future to reign in Rome."
 Then he presents the dagger to Collatinus, to Lucre-
 tius, and to Valerius, who were all surprized to be-
 hold in Brutus a presence of mind and height of cou-
 rage, so different from what they had till then perceived
 in him. All took the same oath.

tantum violatum : animus insons : mors testis erit. Sed date dextra
 fidemque, haud impune adultero fore. Sextus est Tarquinius, qui
 hostis pro hospite priore nocte vi armatus, mihi sibi que, si vos viri
 estis, pestiferum hinc abstulit gaudium. LIV.

† Dant ordine omnes fidem : consolantur ægram animi, avertendo
 noxam ab coacta in auctorem delicti. Mentem peccare, non corpus ;
 & unde consilium abfuerit, culpam abesse. " Vos," inquit, " vide-
 ritis quid illi debeatur : ego me, etsi peccato absolvo supplicio non
 libero : nec ulla deinde impudica Lucretia exemplo vivit. Ibid.

This oath was as the signal of a general insurrection. The sight of Lucretia's body exposed all over blood in the forum of Collatia, breeds an universal sorrow, and inspires a lively desire of revenge. The youth instantly take arms. Brutus, after placing guards at the city gates to hinder Tarquin from being informed of what had passed, marches with the young men to Rome. This armed band caused at first a great tumult and alarm in the city: but when the most considerable and most esteemed citizens were seen at their head, people took courage again. Brutus, as captain of the guards (1), ordered a herald instantly to call an assembly, and made the People a speech which had nothing of that air of stupidity which he had hitherto affected. "He related what had passed at Collatia, Sextus Tarquin's crime, chaste Lucretia's sad fate and tragical end, the inconsolable grief of a father, less affected with the death of his daughter, than with the cause. He then called to mind the crimes of Tarquin himself: his avarice, pride, cruelties, unworthy treatment of the citizens, in employing them in his buildings like labourers and slaves; he mentions also the horrible murder of King Servius, Tullia's barbarous impiety in driving her chariot over her father's body, the public execrations of all the People, invoking against her the furies, avengers of the wickedness and ingratitude of unnatural children." The whole assembly applauded the speech, and immediately decreed Tarquin, his wife and family, to perpetual banishment.

Brutus, without loss of time, marches to Ardea with a good company of youths, full of courage and zeal, to stir up also the army against the King. He left Lucretius to command the city, whom Tarquin himself had appointed præfect or governor. In the commotion, Tullia fled out of the palace, pursued, wherever she went, with the cries and curses of the

(1) Brutus happened to be *Tribunus*, or *Præfectus Celerum*. After the expulsion of the Kings, the *Magister Equitum* held the same command under the Dictators, and *Præfectus Prætorio* under the Emperors. By virtue of this office, Brutus could assemble the *Comitia*.

People. The King, upon advice of what passed at Rome, speedily departed to stop and stifle the sedition in its birth. Brutus, who had notice of it, turned out of the road in order to avoid him. They arrived both about the same time; Brutus at Ardea, Tarquin at Rome. Tarquin found the gates shut, and his banishment decreed. The camp joyfully received their deliverer, and the King's sons were driven from thence. Two followed their father in exile at Cære among the Hetrurians. Sextus Tarquinius retired to Gabii, where he had been settled.

The Romans concluded a fifteen years truce with the men of Ardea; and the army, employed in the siege, returned to Rome.

Lucretia's tragical death, which caused that great revolution, has been praised and extolled by Paganism, as the highest and most noble act of heroism. The Gospel thinks not so: it is an unjust murder, even according to Lucretia's principles, since she punished with death an innocent person, at least acknowledged as such by herself. She was ignorant that our life is not in our power, but in his disposal alone from whom we receive it.

L. I. C. 19.

St. Austin, who carefully examines in his book *De Civitate Dei*, what we are to think of Lucretia's death, considers * it not as a courageous action flowing from a true love of chastity, but as an infirmity of a woman too sensible of worldly glory and fame, and who from the dread of appearing in the eyes of men accomplice of the violence she abhorred, and of a crime to which she was entirely a stranger, commits a real crime upon herself voluntarily and designedly.

But what cannot be sufficiently admired in this Roman lady, is her abhorrence of adultery, which she deems so heinous and detestable, that she cannot bear the thoughts of it. Such was the opinion of the very heathens concerning that matter. It suffices to pro-

* Non est pudicitiae caritas, sed pudoris infirmitas—Romana mulier laudis avida, nimium verita est, ne putaretur, quod violenter est passa cum viveret, libenter passa si viveret.

duce here the example of two idolatrous princes of the same name, whom we find in the book of Genesis, Gen. xx. seized with fear and trembling at the sight of the danger they had run of committing adultery through ignorance. They own a sin so enormous would have drawn upon them and their whole kingdom the curse of heaven: *What hast thou done unto us*, (said Abimelech to Abraham) *and what have I offended thee in, that thou hast brought on me and on my kingdom a great sin?* 9. xxvi. 10.

Lucius Tarquin the Proud, reigned twenty-three years; the duration of the regal state, from the foundation of Rome to the expulsion of the Kings, was two hundred and forty-four years (1).

When the reign of Tarquin the Proud is compared with that of Numa Pompilius, what a difference appears between good and bad Princes! They have equally in one hand the Sword, and in the other the Graces: but use them very differently. Bad Princes seem to place their whole power and grandeur in ruling the People with haughtiness and pride, in commanding their submission and respect through fear, and in showing them continually an authority menacing, formidable, and ready to punish the least opposition. The temper of good Princes, on the contrary, inclines them to universal beneficence, to use their authority solely for the public good, to be powerful only to oblige, to set no other bounds to their generosity and magnificence, than those of their power and justice; in a word, to deem themselves chiefly the representatives of the Deity, in reigning over the hearts of their subjects.

(1) Sir Isaac Newton, in his chronology, has very much lessened the years both of the fourteen Kings of Alba, and the seven Kings of Rome. He thinks it very improbable that seven Kings should successively reign thirty-five years one with another. Instead of which he allows but seventeen years to each reign, and so reduces the 244 to 119 years. Likewise he reckons twenty years to each of the Alban Kings, which make in all 280. By this means he brings down the foundation of Rome to the 38th instead of the 6th Olympiad, and the destruction of Troy to the 20th year only before the building of Carthage by Dido, which clears Virgil from the anachronism of near 300 years generally imputed to him, in making Æneas and Dido cotemporary.

The Roman authors have considered as the Infancy of Rome, the time between its foundation and Tarquin's expulsion: "Which," (says Laurence Echard in his Roman history) "was rightly so termed, since during the two hundred and forty-four years of the regal state, the Roman dominions were not above forty miles long, and thirty broad; a spot of ground not so long by a fourth part as either the Dukedoms of Modena, Parma, or Mantua, and not much larger than the territory of the commonwealth of Lucca."

It is true, to judge of Rome only by the extent of the countries she had hitherto conquered, no great idea can be formed of her. But had Athens, Lacedæmon, Corinth, Tyre, larger territories? In Rome, as yet weak and as it were newly born, are to be considered the largeness and justness of her views; her foresight of the future; her undaunted courage in battle; her moderation in victory; her unshaken firmness of mind in all events; her love and regard for simplicity, frugality, and poverty itself; her thirst of glory, which made her despise the greatest dangers and hardships; her ripeness of wisdom and prudence, which shines so admirably in the deliberations of the Senate; in a word, her spirit of government, rules of conduct, principles of policy, firmly established under the Kings, which will subsist in the whole course of the Republic, and open a way to the conquest of the universe.

T H E

R O M A N H I S T O R Y.

B O O K T H E S E C O N D.

THIS book contains in four chapters the history of the Roman commonwealth from the beginning of the Consular Government to the creation of the Tribunes of the People, that is, from the year of Rome 244 to 261, being the space of seventeen years.

I N T R O D U C T I O N.

A Change of scene is going to present to us the Roman people in the enjoyment of liberty, and, under a new government, the empire of law more powerful than that of men*. The cruelty of the late reign served to render that liberty the more pleasant. All the Kings, before Tarquin the Proud, had in some measure prepared the way to it, and laid the first foundations. Their authority, tempered with that of the Senate and People, instead of degenerating into arbitrary and despotic power, preserved always a character of goodness, equity, justice, which had something of popular. The variety of temper and genius by which they were all distinguished and inspired with very dif-

* Imperia legum potentiora quam hominum. Liv. l. i. c. 2.

ferent dispositions, was absolutely necessary to establish and strengthen a new state, which could not at once take a sure and lasting form. The first of these Kings, conquering out of inclination and necessity, thought only of forming a nation of soldiers. His successor, naturally inclined to peace, strove to soften and civilize by wise laws and religious institutions the rough and fierce manners of the primitive Romans. Some, by a happy mixture of these two characters, as well warlike as pacific, caused to go hand in hand the regulations and views which seemed to be divided by the two first Kings. Finally, in the latter times, under Servius Tullius, was seen to arise a new form of government, which settled the rights and privileges of each state, and lasted as long as the commonwealth, so wisely and maturely did its maxims appear to be concerted.

Tarquin the Proud had no right but force to the crown. He had mounted the throne by trampling upon all the laws of humanity and of the state. Brutus merited therefore great honour in dethroning an usurper who used tyrannically a power unjustly acquired. But it is agreed that in case he had lived under any one of the former Kings, and by an unseasonable zeal for liberty had undertaken to wrest the scepter out of his hand, besides the injustice of the thing, he would have done the public a very great injury. What would have been the consequence, if that multitude of herdsmen and adventurers, who, by the allurements of liberty or impunity, were come for refuge to Rome, without being restrained by the fear of sovereign authority, should have seen themselves exposed to the storms raised afterwards by the Tribunes? What danger would there have been, if, in a city as yet foreign in some measure with respect to that multitude, they had been to raise and maintain violent contests with the Senate, before the affection for a wife and children, the love of one's country, which come only by time, and before wise laws, cemented by a common interest and strengthened

ed by long custom, had knit the bonds of a strict union between the citizens? Discord without doubt would have destroyed an infant-state, which, under the shadow of a monarchical, but limited government, grew insensibly to a degree of maturity and strength, capable of making a good use of liberty, and advantageously supporting its whole weight*.

Indeed, as Cicero observes †, when one considers at one view the wise regulations and wholesome laws derived from the royal power: the Auspices, religious ceremonies, the order of the assemblies, the power of the People now owned and revered, the august assembly of the Senate, looked upon as the great council of the nation, the military discipline and martial courage carried to a surprising and astonishing height, all the parts of the commonwealth appear in so permanent and settled a state as to seem almost entirely perfect. And yet this same commonwealth, after shaking off the regal yoke, and obtaining liberty, appeared still quite another thing, and by a swift progress rose in all respects to a perfection and excellence hardly to be conceived.

* Dissipatæ res, nondum adultæ, discordiâ forent: quas fovit tranquilla moderatio imperij, eoque nutriendo perduxit, ut bonam frugem libertatis maturis jam viribus ferre possent.

† Cùm à primo urbis ortu, regiis institutis, partim etiam legibus, auspicia, ceremoniæ, comitia, provocationes, patrum consilium, equitum peditumque descriptio, tota res militaris divinitus esset constituta; tum progressio admirabilis incredibilisque cursus ad omnem excellentiam factus est, dominatu regio republicâ liberatâ. Tusç. Quæst. l. 4. n. 2.

C H A P. I.

Brutus and Collatinus are appointed Consuls. An oath is taken never to suffer Kings at Rome. The Senate is filled up. An embassy from Tarquin, to demand restitution of his possessions. The ambassadors cabal at Rome. Several young noblemen conspire Tarquin's restoration. Their plot is discovered. They are condemned, and put to death. Brutus's sad constancy. Tarquin's possessions are given up to plunder. Collatinus is suspected, and abdicates the Consulship. Valerius is chosen in his room. Examination of Brutus's conduct in the execution of his sons.

A. R. 244.
Ant. C.
508.
Dionys.
l. 5. p. 277.
Liv. l. 2.
c. 1, 2.

WHEN Tarquin and with him the regal power were banished Rome, a new government was to be established. After some difficulties, it was unanimously agreed to create in the room of the Kings, two Consuls, whose authority should be annual, according to a plan found among the memoirs of Servius Tullius. The right of election was left to the People, but they were to be chosen out of the Patricians. These magistrates had for some time a power almost equal to the regal. They were heads of the Senate and People, and all other magistrates were subordinate to them. They administered justice, and disposed of the public money. They called the Senate, and assembled the People as they pleased. They levied forces; appointed the officers; treated with foreign princes and their ambassadors. The modest title of Consuls put them in mind, however, that they were not so much the sovereigns of the commonwealth as the counsellors, and that the safety and glory of the nation ought to engross their attention.

The Roman People assembled by the Centuries, named for Consuls, Lucius Junius Brutus, and Lucius Tarquinius Collatinus. Valerius, who had most contributed next to Brutus to the advancement of liberty,

liberty, expected to be his colleague in the Consulship. Disappointed of his hopes, and highly displeased, he withdrew from the Senate, appeared not on the Forum, and absolutely renounced the care of public affairs. His retreat bred in the People great uneasiness, and a fear of his reconciliation with the Tarquins. Collatinus, husband of Lucretia, had been preferred before him, not from a belief of his greater merit, but because he was considered as personally concerned in revenging the outrage he had received, and as being on that account the most irreconcilable enemy of the royal family. Valerius in that respect was no way behind him, and quickly gave proofs of it. When Brutus wanted to bind the Senate by an oath against Kings and kingly government, and had appointed a day for taking the oath, Valerius came into the place with a cheerful countenance, and swore first never to hearken to any proposal from Tarquin, and to make war upon him for ever in defence of liberty: which highly pleased the Senate, and encouraged the Consuls.

A. R. 244.
Ant. C.
508.

It appears, according to Dionysius Halicarnassensis, that the first Consuls entered upon the exercise of their office about the beginning of June, and that the first year of the Consular government was sixteen months: namely, the four last of the year 244, and the twelve of the year 245 to the month of October, when generally the Consulship began in those days, though there was at that time nothing yet regularly settled in that matter. It was not till the year 599 that the Consuls began for the first time to take possession of the Consulship on the Calends of January.

The Consuls had the same ensigns of dignity as the Kings, except the gold crown and scepter; namely, the purple robe, the curule chair of ivory, the fasces and axes, with the twelve Lictors. It was feared, the People might take umbrage at the new form of government, and think, instead of one there were two Kings, if the twelve fasces and axes, ensigns of the power of life and death, were carried alike before

A. R. 244.
Ant. C.
508.

both Consuls. To remedy that inconvenience, it was decreed, that one of the two Consuls only should have right to the fasces armed with axes, and the Lictors which walked before the other should carry fasces without axes : but, however, to avoid all appearance of superiority between the two Consuls, they divided monthly by turns that mark of authority. Brutus had it first, his colleague yielding him that honour in consideration of his merit.

The Consuls were no less zealous for the preservation and security, than they had been for the establishment of liberty. Having assembled the People, they exhorted them to union and concord, as the sole means of safety in so difficult a juncture, and renewed and confirmed the sentence passed on the Tarquins, of perpetual banishment. To give the greater weight and force to these engagements, religious ceremonies were added, sacrifices offered, and the Consuls approaching the altar, swore for themselves, their children, and all their posterity, never to recall either Tarquin, or his sons, or any of his family : that the Romans should never more be governed by Kings, nor ever suffer any measures to be taken for their restoration. Thus not only Kings, but royalty itself was proscribed. Those that should attempt to restore monarchy were devoted to the infernal Gods, and condemned to the most cruel torments. The whole course of the history will show, that an abhorrence of royalty became the predominant character of the Romans, who could not so much as bear the name, when under the Emperors they admitted the thing.

After that, the Consuls filled up the Senate, which Tarquin the Proud had lessened and weakened by the numbers he had put to death, or forced into banishment to avoid his cruelty, and had ended their lives out of Rome. To complete the number of three hundred, there were chosen out of the principal Knights or Plebeians above an hundred and sixty Senators, with the precaution of raising them all to the dignity of Patricians before their admission into the Senate.

The

The old ones were called by the Herald in the Senate, *Patres*, Fathers; and the new ones, *Conscripti*. In process of time, all were called, without distinction, *Patres Conscripti* (1).

A. R. 244.
Ant. C.
508.

As the Kings presided in person at certain sacrifices, a priest was created for that purpose only, with the name of *Rex Sacrorum*, or King of the sacred things. But that he might not take advantage of that name, and forget his sole business was the observance of the sacred ceremonies, he was made subject to the Pontifex Maximus, and forbid to exercise any civil office, or speak before the People. Papirius was the first *Rex Sacrorum*: the same no doubt that compiled all the laws made by the Kings of Rome to his time. This collection was called *Jus Papirianum*, as I have observed in my Ancient History, speaking of the professors of the law.

Pompon.
de orig.
juris.

Whilst Rome was taking all kinds of measures to secure the enjoyment of her new liberty, Tarquin was using his utmost endeavours to recover the throne from whence he had been expelled. Having in vain tried to draw to his interest some other nations, he retired at last to the *Hetrurians*, from whom he was sprung. He represented to them in a lively and affecting manner his melancholy situation, reduced to wander about with his children, forced to seek refuge and beg protection for obtaining justice upon those that had been his subjects. Moved by his speech, which was accompanied with tears, they were prevailed with to send ambassadors to Rome in his favour. They demanded at first that the Roman People would be pleased to suffer Tarquin to come and give an account of his conduct before them as his supreme judge, on whom he acknowledged his fate entirely depended. Perceiving this proposition rejected with disdain, they confined themselves to a single request, which seemed

Liv. 1. 1.
C. 3—5.
Dionys.
1. 5. p. 278
---288.
Plut. in
Poplic. p.
98—100.

(1) Livy says, in calling the Senate, the words were, *Qui Patres, quique Conscripti essent*. And therefore, when Latin authors use *Patres Conscripti*, to express the Senate in general, the conjunction is supposed to be understood, *Patres & Conscripti*; the Fathers and those that have been added.

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very just: namely, that the Roman People would restore to the King his effects at Rome, that he might in his misfortune live quietly in some retired place, without any thoughts of a throne. Tarquin had his views in this request, and the recovery of his effects was his least concern.

When the ambassadors withdrew, the affair was debated in the Senate. Brutus, ever steady in his principles, was against all accommodation with the Tyrant. "To restore him his effects, says he, is to put a sword in his hand against ourselves; the Tarquins will never be satisfied with a private life." Collatinus, his colleague, of a mild and moderate temper, was of the contrary opinion. He represents, "It is not upon the Tyrant's estate, but his person, that our calamities are to be laid. There are two things equally to be dreaded: either the making it believed that the Tarquins were expelled for the sake of their riches, or the giving the Tarquins a pretence to demand sword in hand the estates they have been deprived of. In a word, their request, which seems just, may influence many nations in their favour." As the Senate, after several days debate, could not come to any resolution, they referred the decision of the matter to the People assembled by Centuries. The two Consuls strongly supported their respective opinions. Collatinus's at last prevailed, and it was carried, by one vote, that Tarquin's possessions should be restored to him.

Great was the joy of the ambassadors. They instantly write to Tarquin to send trusty persons to receive his effects; and they themselves still remained at Rome, under pretence that their presence was necessary to take care of the removal of the goods, but in reality to form a party secretly, according to Tarquin's instructions.

They began therefore with privately carrying on their intrigues, artfully taking advantage of the discontents of some young noblemen of the best families in Rome. All those that shined most amongst the
Roman

Roman youth, companions formerly of the pleasures of the Tarquins, and had lived without any restraint under the protection of those princes, complained to one another that the liberty enjoyed by others was to them the beginning of a grievous servitude. Used to the flattering distinctions of the court, they could not bear that mortifying equality which levelled them with the meanest of the People. They compared the indulgences of monarchical government with the austerities of a republican state, saying, “A King is a man from whom you may obtain your desires whether right or wrong: from a Prince favours and benefits may be expected; and if he is offended, he has also power to pardon: he can distinguish his friends from his foes: whereas laws are deaf and inexorable, safer and better for the weak than the powerful: they have no mercy or indulgence for those that transgress: the frailty of man is such, that it is dangerous to rely on innocence alone for support.” *

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Minds thus inclined readily hearkened to the proposal made them from the Tarquins, of restoring the regal power, and reinvesting those with it to whom it rightfully belonged. It was proposed to them by the ambassadors sent by the banished Princes to demand their possessions. A conspiracy was formed, in which a great part of the young Nobility was concerned. Among the rest were the two sons of Brutus the Consul, who were scarce fourteen years old; two of the Vitellii, sons of Collatinus's sister, the other Consul, and brothers of Brutus's wife: two of the Aquilii, sons of another sister of Collatinus. The house of the Aquilii was the usual place of meeting, where measures were concerted for recalling the Tyrants.

* Regem hominem esse, à quo impetres ubi jus, ubi injuria opus sit: esse gratiæ locum, esse beneficio: & irasci, & ignoscere posse: inter amicum atque inimicum discrimen nosse. Leges, rem surdam, inexorabilem esse, salubriorem melioremque inopi quam potenti: nihil laxamenti nec veniæ habere, si modum excesseris: periculosum esse in tot humanis erroribus, sola innocentia vivere. LIV.

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The providence of the Gods, (says Dionysius Halicarnassensis) to which the Romans are indebted for their incredible growth, never appeared so visibly in their behalf as on this occasion. The heads of the conspiracy, by a supernatural blindness *, were so infatuated as to write under their own hands letters to the Tyrant, informing him of the number of the conspirators, and the time appointed for dispatching the Consuls. Plutarch adds, that the conspirators thought proper to bind themselves by the most horrible oaths, drinking all together the blood of a human sacrifice, and swearing over the reeking entrails. This circumstance, mentioned only by Plutarch, seems very improbable. The same thing was afterwards said of Catiline: but perhaps with no better foundation.

The evening before the ambassadors were to return to the Tarquins, a great entertainment was made at the Aquilii's (1). After supper, the servants being all dismissed, they openly talked of their project, thinking themselves without witnesses, and wrote the above-mentioned letters, which were to be put into Tarquin's hands. A slave, called Vindicius, who suspected something, stood without the apartment, where he heard their discourse, and through a crevice of the door saw the letters which they were writing. He instantly ran and told the Consuls what he had seen and heard. The Consuls immediately going with a strong guard, but without noise, apprehend the ambassadors and conspirators, and seize the letters. The traitors were thrown into prison. It was doubted some time what to do with the ambassadors. Though they had themselves violated the law of nations, regard was had to their character, and they were dismissed.

As soon as it was day, Brutus ascended his tribunal. The prisoners were brought before him, and tried in form. Vindicius's evidence was heard, and the letters to Tarquin were read. After which, the conspirators were allowed to speak, if they had any thing to urge

* Τοιαύτη ἀνομία καὶ θεοβλάβεια τῶς δουρύνες ἐκείνης κατέχεν.

(1) Livy says at the Vipellii's, Lib. 2. c. 4.

in their defence. Sighs, groans, and tears, were their only answer. The whole assembly stood with downcast looks, and no man ventured to open his mouth. This mournful silence was broken with a low murmur of Banishment, Banishment, with which it was wished Brutus would be contented to punish the prisoners. But unmoved by any motive but that of the public good, he pronounced upon them the sentence of death; which was accordingly put in execution.

Never was an event more capable of creating at the same time both grief and horror. Brutus, father and judge of two of the offenders, was obliged by his office to see his own sons executed. “The spectator, says Livy *, that should have been absent, was himself by fortune made the sad instrument of their punishment. A great number of the most noble youths were seen tied to stakes. But the rest were as little regarded as if they had been persons unknown. The Consul’s sons alone attracted all eyes. The spectators, touched with compassion, not only for so tragical an end, but also for the inconsiderateness which had brought them to so unhappy a destiny, lamented the phrenzy which had stifled in them all sense of reason and their own interest to such a degree as to induce them to betray, the same year the effects of a happy revolution began to be felt, their country freed from slavery, their father their deliverer, the Consulship first enjoyed by their family, the Senate, People, in a word, their religious and civil rights, and all in favour of Tarquin,

† Direptis bonis regum, damnati proditores, sumptumque supplicium, conspectus eo quod pœnæ capiendæ ministerium patri de liberis consulatus imposuit: &, qui spectator erat amovendus, eum ipsum fortuna exactorem supplicii dedit. Stabant deligati ad palum nobilissimi juvenes. Sed à ceteris, velut ab ignotis capitibus, consulis liberi omnium in se averterant oculos: miserebatque non pœnæ magis homines, quàm sceleris quo pœnam meriti essent. Illos eo potissimum anno, patriam liberatam, patrem liberatorem, consulatum ortum ex domo Junia, Patres, Plebem, quicquid deorum hominumque Romanorum esset, induxisse in animum, ut superbo quondam regi, tum infesto exuli, proderent. Consules in sedem processere suam, missique lictores ad sumendum supplicium, nudatos virgis cædunt, securique feriunt: cum inter omne tempus pater, vultusque & os ejus spectaculo esset; eminente animo patrio inter publicæ pœnæ ministerium. Liv.

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formerly a proud tyrant, now an exile, full of animosity against his country, by which he was proscribed. The Consuls appeared then on their tribunal: and whilst the criminals were executing, the whole assembly fixed their eyes on the father, examining his motion, behaviour, and looks, which in spite of his sad firmness, discovered the sentiments of nature, which he sacrificed to the necessity of his office, but could not entirely stifle."

The rest of the delinquents were punished in the same manner; and though Collatinus endeavoured to save his nephews, not one escaped punishment.

The affair of Tarquin's effects was again debated in the Senate. The voices were no longer divided. It was decreed not to restore them, nor to put them into the public treasury. They were given up for plunder to the people, to make them the more irreconcilable with the Tyrants. Their palace and country-houses were levelled to the ground. Among the rest of their possessions, they had a piece of ground in the best part of the field of Mars: it was again consecrated to that God. Here were held the assemblies of the Roman People by Centuries, and here the Roman youth exercised themselves in the several kinds of the public games.

After the punishment of the treachery, a reward was thought on for the zeal and fidelity of the slave that discovered the plot. Vindicius was made free, declared a Roman citizen, with full right of voting in the Tribe he was assigned to, and presented with a large sum of money.

To put an end to Tarquin's affair, a general pardon was granted to all the Roman citizens that had followed him into banishment, on condition of their return to Rome within the space of twenty days. In default of which, they were condemned to perpetual exile, and their estates forfeited.

The hatred against the Tarquins was so violent, that it passed from their person to their name. Tarquin Collatinus, though he had been so deeply concerned

cerned in the expulsion of the Kings, and the establishment of liberty, fell a victim to his name. His warmly espousing the restitution of the Tarquins effects had bred some slight suspicion of him, and his backwardness in the condemnation and punishment of the conspirators completed his ruin. People's affections were daily alienated from him, and he became the subject of their common discourse, wherein they naturally communicated to one another their fears and uneasinesses. Brutus, to prevent the ill consequences of what was whispered about the city, and raised a general murmur, assembled the people. He began with reading the decree, by which the people had bound themselves with an oath not to suffer any man to reign in Rome. He added, " Though liberty was not actually in danger, yet too much care could not be taken to secure the execution of the decree. He was sorry to say it with respect to his colleague, whose merit and good intentions he acknowledged, but love of his country prevailed over his private affection : the Roman People did not think their liberty entirely recovered, whilst they saw the name and blood of those detested Kings, not only subsisting in Rome, but clothed with sovereign power, a dangerous obstacle to liberty." " Free us, says he speaking to Collatinus, " of your own accord from this fear, which, though " perhaps vain and groundless, makes the People " uneasy. We know, we confess, you expelled the " Kings. Complete the good office by removing " from us the regal name. The citizens not only " will give you all your possessions, but will gladly " and bountifully increase them. Leave the city with " their esteem and affection. They imagine royalty " will not depart hence but with the whole Tarquinian " family."

Collatinus was strangely surprised at such a speech, which he had no reason to expect. He was preparing to reply in his vindication, when all the principal citizens surround him, and with great earnestness make him the same request. He was not moved with their remon-

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remonstrances : but when he saw his father-in-law Spurius Lucretius, eminent for his merit and reputation, join his entreaties and persuasions, mixing authority with affection, to induce him to yield to the desires of his fellow-citizens : then fearing that in case he submitted not voluntarily to their request, he should very soon, when out of his office, be forced into banishment, not only with ignominy, but also with loss of his estates, he abdicated the Consulship, departed from the city, and retired to Lavinium with all his effects. The people presented him with twenty talents, or 3875 l. sterling, to which Brutus added five talents of his own.

De Offic.
l. 3. n. 40.

Cicero, in the third book of Offices, examines whether the Roman People's behaviour to that Consul was honest and right. " It might not, says he, seem honest in Brutus to depose Collatinus his brother-Consul from his office, whose wisdom and conduct he himself had made use of in expelling the Kings. But since the chief men in the government had so ordered, that the kindred of Tarquinius Superbus, and very name of the Tarquins, should be banished the city, and no marks or footsteps be suffered to remain of monarchical government, it was not only profitable thus to consult for the safety of his country, but so honest too, as that Collatinus himself ought gladly to have acquiesced in it."

Immediately after Collatinus's retreat, the Senate made a decree, which was confirmed by the People, ordering all the citizens of the family of the Tarquins to depart from Rome. Brutus, without loss of time, assembled the People by Centuries, and caused Publius Valerius to be chosen Consul, procuring him by that means the just reward due to his services.

Let us look back a moment, and examine in few words what we are to think of Brutus's act in putting his sons to death. Is it steadiness in him? Is it insensibility? Is Brutus's love of his country to be commended? Is his cruelty to his children to be detested? He acts here two parts; the Consul and the Father :
and

and he is equally bound to discharge the duties of both. As Consul, he considers only the good of the state. He is sensibly touched with the extreme danger his country had been in, and from which it was delivered by a providence seemingly miraculous. The new government was not universally liked. Tarquin had many friends in Rome, of which the conspiracy was a proof. Brutus, by sparing his sons, could not punish any other of the criminals. The same indulgence which saved their life, might have recalled them from banishment. Their return was of the utmost hazard with respect to the dissolute young noblemen, who had been capable of forming a plot, tending to no less than the destruction of their father and country. Brutus had a mind to spread terror, and also to inspire the Romans for ever with the highest and most irreconcilable hatred of royalty and tyranny. A bare exile was not sufficient for those purposes. But a father, forced to shed himself the blood of his own children, was a sight, the remembrance whereof could never be effaced, and of which the horror would descend to all future ages. And indeed, such was the impression left on people's minds by that bloody execution, that it may be said, in some sense, to have been ever after present to the eyes of the Romans.

It was doubtless very grievous to paternal affection; and this is admirably expressed by Livy in these words: *eminente animo patrio inter publicæ pænæ ministerium*. The tenderness of a father appeared in his eyes, in his countenance, in his whole behaviour; *eminente animo patrio*. There was a sharp conflict between the love of a father to his children, and the love of a Consul to his country. The last carried it: *Vincet amor patriæ* says Virgil, but it was not without difficulty. To overcome implies a conflict and resistance; and so it ought to have been. Otherwise Brutus's act would have been neither steadiness nor courage, but a savage fierceness. If he had shown, as Plutarch supposes, neither concern, nor grief, nor sensibility, Brutus, in my opinion, should be considered as a monster.

C H A P. II.

A battle between the Consuls and Tarquin. Death of Brutus. Honours paid to his memory. Valerius is suspected: he razes his house, and prefers several popular laws. Sp. Lucretius is chosen for his colleague, who, dying presently after his election, is succeeded by M. Horatius. Porsena undertakes the restoration of the Tarquins. Famous exploit of Horatius Cocles; and of Clælia. Porsena makes peace with the Romans. Dedication of the Capitol. Tarquin despairing to recover the throne by Porsena's assistance, retires to Tusculum.

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Liv. l. 2.

c. 6.

Dionys.

l. 5. p. 288

—292.

STRATAGEM and cabal proving fruitless, Tarquin had recourse to the way of arms and open force. He prevailed by his remonstrances and intreaties with two powerful nations of Hetruria, the Veientes and Tarquinii, to espouse his cause. The Veientes hoped to be revenged under the conduct of a Roman general, for the pretended injuries received from Rome. The Tarquinii thought it for their honour to see on the Roman throne a prince originally of their city. A battle was fought, memorable only for Brutus's death. Aruns, son of Tarquin, and the Consul, met each at the head of their cavalry, before the armies were engaged. Aruns discovering Brutus: "There is the man, says he, that has expelled us
"our country: behold him insolently adorned with
"our ensigns! Assist me, O ye Gods, avengers of
"Kings!" That moment they flew upon one another with such fury, that, each regardless of his own defence, and eager to wound his adversary, they ran one another through the body, and in the same instant fell dead from their horses. The battle ensued, and was very obstinate. The armies parted with equal loss. It is pretended, that a voice was heard out of the wood Arfia, declaring the Romans conquerors, and to have lost one man less than the Hetrurians. It is certain, the Romans remained masters of the field.

Valerius

Valerius was decreed a triumph. He was the first Consul that made a triumphant entry into Rome in a chariot with four horses, which custom was afterwards retained.

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The body of Brutus was carried by the most eminent Knights, with all the marks of honour and tokens of the sincerest grief. When they came near the city, they were met a good way out of the gates by the Senate, with the parade of a triumph, with which they intended to grace the funeral of that great man. The Consul, clothed in mourning, exposed in the Forum Brutus's body upon a bed as richly adorned as the simplicity of those early times would permit, and before all the People made an oration in praise of his colleague.

This was the first instance of a funeral oration among the Romans. They had not borrowed the custom from the Greeks. The famous battle of Marathon, after which honourable marks of distinction were first given in Greece to those that died sword in hand, is of a later date by sixteen years than Brutus's death. Nay the Romans in this point not only led the way, but excelled the Grecians. The Greek pægyrics were confined to martial courage, and to those only that died in defence of their country. Whatever esteem the Romans had for valour, it was not the only kind of merit they deemed worthy their encomiums. All the great men who had distinguished themselves whilst alive, either by their ability in the conduct of armies, or by their prudence in councils, or by their vigilance in the functions of the magistracy, or by other services done their country, received after their death their due tribute of praise, whether they died fighting for their country, or ended their lives in a natural and peaceable manner.

The Roman ladies signalized themselves also by the honours they paid to Brutus's memory. They all went into mourning, and wore it a year *, in acknow-

* The year of mourning was but ten months, according to Numa's prescription.

A. R. 245. ledgment for his revenging so notably the outrage done
 Ant. C. to conjugal chastity on the person of Lucretia.

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 Liv. l. 2. Valerius had cause to repent his outliving Brutus.
 c. 7. That great man, so devoted to the public good, and
 Dionys. so zealous a defender of liberty, was however suspect-
 p. 292. ed of aspiring to royalty, so apt is a too jealous love
 Plut. in of liberty to fill the People with distrust and suspicion.
 Poplic. Such is sometimes the sad lot of the best men, even
 p. 102. of those who have done their country the greatest ser-
 vices. Not only their noble actions are forgot, but
 they are accused or at least suspected of bad ones *.
 Two things gave ground to a report so injurious to the
 Consul: his building a house on the top of a hill which
 commanded the Forum; and his not appearing so for-
 ward as Brutus for the election of a colleague.

Valerius, informed of the people's suspicions, plainly
 showed on that occasion, says Plutarch, what an advan-
 tage it is for persons in the highest posts, and in the
 administration of the public affairs, to have an ear more
 open to the sincere representations of their friends,
 than to the insinuating and grateful discourse of flat-
 terers. It is true, he dwelt in a house too high and
 too stately. It stood on the brow of Velia, the highest
 part of mount Palatine; and the avenues to it were
 so difficult, that it could hardly be approached. Upon
 the notice given him, he assembled the People. Silence
 being made, he said, "He could not but envy the
 fortune of his colleague, who, after freeing his country,
 invested with the supreme power, died fighting for the
 commonwealth, at a time when his glory, arrived to its
 greatest height, was not yet become the object of jea-
 lousy and unjust prejudices. For his part, he had
 lived too long by some days, having had the misfor-
 tune to survive his own glory, and see himself charged
 with a detestable imputation. From the Deliverer of
 his Country he found himself degraded with traitors
 punished with death." "What then, added he, can

* Miseros interdum cives, optimè de rep. meritos! in quibus homi-
 nes non modò res præclarissimas obliviscuntur, sed etiam nefarias sus-
 picantur. Cic. pro Mil. n. 63.

“ no virtue be so far tried as to be safe from your sus-
 “ picion ? Could I ever imagine that I, declared enemy
 “ of Kings, should be suspected of aspiring at Royalty ?
 “ What ! though I dwelt in the citadel itself and in
 “ the Capitol, should I believe I could be a cause of
 “ uneasiness to my fellow-citizens ? Has the confidence
 “ you have hitherto always placed in me so slight a
 “ foundation, that it must rather be considered where
 “ I dwell, than what I am : Be easy, O Romans,
 “ Valerius’s house shall never be an obstacle to your
 “ liberty. You have nothing to fear from Velia. The
 “ mount on which I have begun to build, shall alarm
 “ you no more. I will bring down my house, not only
 “ to the plain, but under the hill, that you may over-
 “ look so dangerous and suspected a citizen. Let them
 “ build on Velia, in whose hands liberty may more
 “ safely be lodged than in those of Valerius.” Hav-
 ing got together a great number of workmen, he de-
 molished that very night his house to the last stone.

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The next morning, when the People saw the ruins, they were ashamed of their conduct, equally unjust and extravagant : they upbraided themselves for their ingratitude to a Consul so manifest and constant a friend to their interests, and repented their forcing him to such extremity. They repented of it : but, had they not seen the house demolished, they would perpetually have formed the same suspicions and complaints. For such is the nature of the People, says Plato ; they condemn, and retract ; they use ill, and are sorry ; they put men to death, and the next moment wish them alive.

As for the second ground of complaint, deferring the election of a colleague, he really thought of removing it : but as he knew not a proper person, and was afraid the new Consul, whether through envy or ignorance, might perhaps oppose his designs, he made use of the absolute power he enjoyed alone, to establish very great and most excellent regulations, which gained him the more honour as there was none to share the glory with him.

Liv. l. 1.
 c. 7, 8.
 Dionys.
 l. 5. p. 292.
 Plut in
 Poplic. p.
 102, 103.

A.R. 245.
Ant. C.
597.

To give unquestionable proofs of his zeal for liberty, every time he went to the assemblies, he caused the fasces to be lowered before the People, as a homage to their sovereignty. That proceeding infinitely pleased the multitude, who saw with a sensible pleasure the ensigns of the supreme authority submitted to them, as a public acknowledgment that the People's power was superior to the Consul's *. He ordered also, that in the city the axes should not be carried with the fasces, but only without the walls.

He made several other laws which greatly increased the People's authority. There was one to this effect: "Every Roman citizen condemned by the magistrate either to death or scourging, or in any fine, shall have right to appeal to the People, and the magistrate be obliged to stop proceedings till the People's opinion be known."

He made it death for any person to take upon him the office of a magistrate, without the People's consent.

Another law gave permission to kill without trial any person who affected the regal power, and declared the author of the murder acquitted if he could prove the fact.

Plut.
p. 103.

He ordered the public money to be carried to the temple of Saturn, where the public treasure was deposited ever after, and he permitted the People to chuse two Quæstors or treasurers. Publius Veturius and Marcus Minucius were chosen. Tacitus says the Quæstors were established in the time of the Kings, which seems very probable. Perhaps Valerius only ordered they should be chosen by the People, and not by the Consuls (1).

Annal.
l. 11. c. 22.

Valerius

* Gratum id multitudini spectaculum fuit, summissa sibi esse imperii insignia; confessionemque factam, populi quàm Consulis majestatem vimque majorem esse. Liv.

(1) They were called Quæstors, à quærendo, from getting in the revenues of the state. The Quæstorship was the first office any person could bear, and might be undertaken at the age of twenty-four or twenty-five years. In the year of Rome 332, two more were created, to take care of the payment of the army, to sell the plunder and booty,

Valerius established these and several other such laws, which justly acquired him the name of Publicola *, that is to say, one that takes care of the People's interests. It is easy to judge, laws of this nature made a great alteration in the government. The Consular power, which at first equalled the Regal, was then considerably weakened; and the People's rights proportionably increased. Here we have the first epocha of a manifest democracy in Rome.

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Before the assembling of the People for the election of a Consul, Valerius ordered a Census. One hundred and thirty thousand citizens, exclusive of widows and orphans who paid no taxes, appeared upon the roll.

At length the People, assembled by Centuries, chose for colleague to Valerius, Spurius Lucretius, father of Lucretia, to whom, as being the elder, he gave the first place with the fasces, a respect which was ever after paid to the prerogative of age. But Lucretius dying in a few days, the People chose in his room Marcus Horatius, who completed the rest of the year with Publicola. Nothing remarkable happened but the dedication of the Capitol, placed in this year by Livy. When the temple was finished, and fit to be opened for public resort, the dedication was to be performed, a ceremony very honourable to the dedicator, whose name was placed in the front of the temple. Publicola expected that honour, and greatly desired it, but it was not thought proper to give his colleague that mortification. So they drew lots, which fell to Horatius. Publicola went upon a slight expedition against some troops that had made an incursion upon the Roman territory. On the day appointed for the dedication, there was a great concourse of people at the Capitol. Horatius, after the rest of the ceremonies were performed, was ready to finish the consecration

Liv. l. 2.
c. 8.
Dionys.
l. 5. p. 304.
Plut. in
Poplic. p.
204.

booty, &c. They accompanied the Consuls in their expeditions, and were therefore called Peregrini, to distinguish them from the others, who were termed Urbani. The number was greatly increased afterwards, as will be seen.

* A contraction of Populicola. The name of Publicola (or Poplicola) though less just, has prevailed.

A.R. 245. by the most solemn act, which was, to lay his hand
 Ant. C. on the side-post of the gate *. The spectators with
 507. religious silence observed his motions, and he was going to pronounce the solemn prayer of consecration, when Marcus Valerius, brother of Publicola, who had stood a good while in the temple-gate to watch that instant, said aloud to him; "Horatius, your son is dead in the camp;" hoping by the news to stop his proceeding. The Consul, without any concern, coldly replied, "Let him be buried:" whether he believed it a device of his enemies, as it really was, or had the strength of mind to keep his natural temper without being moved at such an accident, remembering he was there as Pontifex Maximus, and not as Father, and making nature give way to religion †. This was a very childish and unbecoming device at so august a ceremony.

Polyb. l. 3. Polybius informs us that this year, the first after the
 P. 176. expulsion of the Tarquins, and twenty-eighth before Xerxes's invasion of Greece, was made the first treaty between the Romans and Carthaginians. I shall insert it here as a very curious monument of antiquity. Polybius gives it in Greek, translated from the original Latin as exactly as he could. "For, says he, the Latin tongue of those days is so different from the modern, that the most learned find it very difficult to understand that old language.

"Between the Romans and their allies, and between the Carthaginians and their allies, there shall be alliance on these conditions: Neither the Romans nor their allies shall sail beyond the Fair Promontory ‡, unless driven by storm, or forced by their enemies: in which cases they shall not be allowed to buy or take any thing but what shall be absolutely necessary for the refitting of their ships or the worship of the Gods;

* Postem teneri in dedicatione templi oportere, videor audisse. CIRC. in orat. pro domo sua, n. 121.

† Ne patris magis quam pontificis partes egisse videretur. VAL. MAX. l. 5. c. 10.

‡ This promontory, situate to the east of Carthage, was about ten leagues distant from thence.

and they shall depart at the end of five days. The merchants that shall come from Carthage shall pay no duty except what is paid to the crier and register. Whatever shall be sold before these two witnesses, the public faith shall be surety to the seller, so likewise for whatever shall be sold in Africa or Sardinia. If any Romans land in that part of Sicily subject to the Carthaginians, they shall have justice done them. The Carthaginians shall forbear making waste upon the Antiates, the Ardeates, the Laurentini, the Circæans, the Taracini, or any Latin nation in subjection to the Roman People *. They shall do no injury there even to the cities not under the Roman dominion. If they shall take any one, they shall deliver it up unhurt to the Romans. They shall build no fortresses in the country of the Latines; and if they enter it in arms, they shall not stay the night."

A. R. 245.
Ant. C.
507.

This treaty, the simplicity and preciseness whereof are so remarkable, shows that among the Romans many applied themselves to commerce, that navigation was not entirely unknown to them, that the use of merchant-ships was common, and that they made pretty long voyages, since they went as far as Carthage. It shows also how advantageous the alliance of the Romans was to the neighbouring nations, since it protected them from the inroads of enemies so formidable as the Carthaginians, who, being masters of the sea and part of Sicily, could easily infest the sea-coasts of Italy (1).

The

* The nations or cities here mentioned lay along the sea-coast, and covered Rome on that side.

(1) The author of the Dissertation on the uncertainty of the first five centuries of the Roman history observes, that this treaty not only is omitted by all the other historians, but also contradicts them in many particulars. For instance, Horatius is made Consul with Brutus: Antium and Ardea are supposed in subjection to Rome: directly contrary to Livy and Dionysius. Moreover, the Carthaginians are said to be in possession of part of Sicily and also of Sardinia; whereas Livy places their first expedition into Sicily in the year of Rome 324, about eighty years after this treaty. It is hence likewise evident that the Romans had sailed by way of commerce into Africa and other parts, of which these historians are entirely silent. From all these particulars the author of the Dissertation infers the negligence or ignorance

A. R. 246.
Ant. C.
506.

The next year had for Consuls

P. VALERIUS PUBLICOLA, a second time *.

TITUS LUCRETIUS, the first time.

Liv. 1. 2.
c. 9, 10.
Dionys.
l. 5. p. 253.

After Tarquin had lost the battle wherein his son Aruns was killed fighting with Brutus, he withdrew to Clusium in Hetruria to Lars Porfena (2), the most potent King then in Italy. There, mixing intreaties with advice, “one while he implored him not to suffer a Prince, who gloried in being of Hetrurian extraction, to languish with his family in a mournful exile and dishonourable indigence; another while he exhorted him not to leave unrevengeed the growing custom of expelling Kings from their throne. He would behold all the cities shaking off the yoke of dependence, unless Kings showed the same zeal and vigour in defence of their power, as the cities did for procuring liberty. All advancement, all superiority, offended their jealous ambition: it was every where fought to level the highest with the lowest, and to extirpate royalty, the glory of heaven and earth.” Porfena, touched with this discourse, and moreover incited with jealousy against a nation, whose power he saw daily increasing, and which really gave him uneasiness, promised Tarquin his utmost assistance.

This was for him a powerful refuge, and for the Romans a just ground of alarm. Porfena’s reputation was great, and his forces considerable. Besides, the Senate was under as great apprehensions from the citizens themselves, as from the enemies. They were afraid the populace, to prevent the unavoidable effects of war, would be inclined to recal the Tarquins, and purchase peace at the expence of liberty. The Senate therefore endeavoured to gain the People by

norance of the Roman historians, in that they did not or could not consult these antient authentic pieces: but only copied from Fabius Pictor without examination, and therefore will have it, that little credit is to be given the history for the first five hundred years.

* In the sequel I shall only mark with Roman figures if the Consuls have been so once, twice, thrice or four times, thus, II, III, IV.

(2) Lars is said to signify in the Hetrurian language Prince or Lord,

grant-

granting them all possible relief. Above all things, care was taken of provisions, and corn was sent for from several parts, and sold to the People at a low rate. The tax upon salt was taken from those that farmed it and sold the salt at a high price, in order to be managed for the future by commissioners in the name of the state. The customs were taken off, and the poor exempted from all imposts which were laid upon the rich; and it was declared sufficient for the poor to bring up children who in time might defend the commonwealth*. These were wise measures: but would have been more so, had they been taken in a time of peace and tranquillity. They had all the effect that was expected. During the siege, and in spite of a famine, which was very severe, there was no commotion in the city: all remained quiet: the meanest as well as the greatest persisted to abhor the name of King, and never after did any single person appear so popular by indirect ways as the whole Senate was at that time by a just and equitable administration†.

Porfena, who had in vain sent some proposals to the Senate for the restoration of the Tarquins, marched at the head of the army, attacked the Janiculum, which he took by assault, and immediately advanced towards Rome; persuaded he should easily reduce it. When he came to the bridge, and saw the Romans drawn up in order of battle before the river, he prepared to fight, reckoning to overpower them with numbers. The two armies being engaged, fought with great bravery, and long contended for victory. After a great slaughter on both sides, Valerius and Lucretius being wounded, the Romans began to give ground, and were quickly put to rout. All fled into the city over the bridge, which at the same time would have afforded a passage to the enemies, if Rome had not found in the heroic courage of one of her

* *Pauperes satis stipendii solvere, si liberos educarent.* Liv.

† *Ut nec quisquam unus malis artibus postea tam popularis esset, quam tum bene imperando universus Senatus fuit.* Liv.

A. R. 246. citizens a bulwark as strong as the highest walls. P.
 Ant. C. Horatius was the man, surnamed Cocles, because he
 506. had but one eye, having lost the other in a battle.
 He was the strongest and most undaunted of the Romans. He sprung from M. Horatius, so famous for the defeat of the three Albans.

He used all manner of means to stop the flying Romans. But perceiving neither intreaties nor exhortations could overcome their fear, he resolved, however badly followed he might be, to defend the entrance of the bridge till it was demolished behind. Only two Romans followed his example, and partook of the danger. Nay, when he saw but a few planks of the bridge remaining, he obliged them to retire and to save themselves. Standing alone against a whole army, but preserving his undauntedness, he even dared to insult his numerous enemies, and casting terrible looks upon the principal Hetrurians, one while challenged them to single combat, and then bitterly reproached them all. "Vile slaves that ye
 " are of proud and haughty Kings," said he to them,
 " not satisfied with being unmindful of your own,
 " you are come to deprive others of their liberty,
 " who have had the courage to assume it*." Covered with his buckler, he sustained a shower of darts. At last, when they were all preparing to rush upon him, the bridge was entirely demolished, and Cocles throwing himself with his arms into the Tyber, safely swam over, having performed an action, says Livy †, that will command the admiration more than the faith of posterity. He was received as in triumph by the Romans. The People erected him a brazen statue in armour in the most conspicuous part of the Forum ‡. As much land was given him as he could surround with a plough in a day (1). All the inhabitants, both

* *Servitia regum superborum, suæ libertatis immemores, alienam oppugnatum venire.* Liv.

† *Rem ausus plus famæ habituram ad posteros quàm fidei.*

‡ In the places where the assemblies were held, called for that reason Comitium.

(1) *Agri quantum uno die circumaravit datum.* Liv.

men and women, contributed to his reward; and, in the midst of a dreadful scarcity, three hundred thousand heads, of which the city consisted, depriving themselves of a part of their subsistence, every one made him a small present of provisions †.

Porfena's first attempt failing, he besieged the city, and began to ravage the neighbouring lands. The loss of above five thousand men in a sally, wherein the Consuls had laid an ambush for his troops, determined him to change the siege into a blockade, in hopes of reducing the city by famine. Indeed the scarcity was very great, and the provisions that came by the Tyber were not sufficient for the subsistence of the city much longer.

A second prodigy, no less surprizing than that of Horatius Cocles, freed it from its imminent danger. C. Mucius, a young nobleman, full of indignation to see that Rome, in a state of liberty, should be in a worse condition than under the Kings, formed a design to free his country from that dishonour by a new and bold enterprize. He goes into the enemy's camp, with the Senate's permission, intimating he had some great project in view, but without any farther explanation. He deceives the guards, who take him for a Heturian, because he appeared to be without arms, and spoke the language of the country, which he had formerly learnt of his nurse. He advances to the King's tent, who, attended by a secretary dressed like himself, was paying his troops. Mucius, not caring to ask which was the King for fear of a discovery, and seeing the soldiers address themselves oftener to the secretary, resolved at last, and stabbed the secretary with a dagger instead of the King. He is instantly seized, notwithstanding all his resistance, and dragged before the tribunal of the enraged King: but even then, in the sight of a thousand horrible punishments which threaten him, he appears with an undaunted countenance, more capable of inspiring terror than of feel-

† In magna inopia, pro domesticis copiis, unusquisque aliquid, fraudans se ipse victu suo, contulit. Liv.

A. R. 246.
Ant. C.
506.

ing it himself: "I am a Roman," says he, "my name is Mucius. I intended to kill the enemy of my country; and am as ready to suffer death as I was to give it thee. It equally becomes a Roman both to act with courage and to suffer with constancy. I stand not alone in the design against thee. Many others after me aspire to the same honour. And therefore prepare thyself for continual alarms, expect every moment to run the risk of thy life, to find always at the door of thy tent a secret enemy watching an opportunity to attack thee. This is the war the Roman youth denounces against thee. Fear not a general battle. Thou alone wilt be attacked, and a single enemy is all thou hast to deal with *."

The King, full of rage, and withal astonished at the danger threatened by Mucius, commands him to be surrounded with flames to force him to a fuller confession. But the Roman without any concern; "See," says he, putting his hand in a pan of burning coals, "See how despicable is their body to men who seek after immortal glory †." He let his hand burn on, as if he had been without feeling. But Porfena, amazed at the sight of such a prodigy, leaps down from his tribunal, and ordering Mucius to be removed from the fire, "Begone," says he, "young

* Ante tribunal regis destitutus, tum quoque inter tantas fortunæ minas metuendus magis quam metuens: Romanus sum, inquit, civis. C. Mucium vocant. Hostis hostem occidere volui: nec ad mortem minus animi est, quàm fuit ad cædem. Et facere & pati fortia Romanum est. Nec unus in te ego hos animos gessi. Longus post me ordo est idem petentium decus. Proinde in hoc discrimen, si juvat, accingere, ut in singulas horas capite dimices tuo, ferrum hostemque in vestibulo habeas regio. Hoc tibi juvenus Romana indicimus bellum. Nullam aciem, nullum prælium timueris. Uni tibi, & cum singulis, res erit. Liv.

† En tibi, inquit, ut sentias quàm vile corpus sit iis qui magnam gloriam vident; dextramque accenso ad sacrificium foculo injicit. Quam cùm velut alienato ab sensu torreret animo; propè attonitus miraculo rex, cùm ab sede sua profluisset, amoverique ab altaribus juvenem jussisset: Tu verò abi, inquit, in te magis quàm in me hostilia ausus. Juberem mactè virtutè esse, si pro mea patria ista virtus staret. Nunc jure belli liberum te, intactum, inviolatumque hinc dimitto.

"man,

“ man, more enemy to thyself than me. I would
 “ exhort thee not to degenerate from such virtue,
 “ hadst thou used it for my country. At least, I suf-
 “ fer thee to go away in liberty, without fear of the
 “ punishment which the laws of war give me a right
 “ to inflict on thee.” Then Mucius, as an acknow-
 ledgment for his generosity, told him, three hundred
 youths had conspired against him: he was the first on
 whom the lot fell, and the rest would come each in
 his turn. This action acquired Mucius the surname
 of Scævola *, because after burning his right hand he
 made use of his left. Dionysius Halicarnassensis, a
 historian generally very exact, says not a word of this
 circumstance, which renders it very doubtful. It has
 been however extremely celebrated by the Romans,
 and every one knows the beautiful epigram of Mar-
 tial upon this event.

A.R. 246.
 Ant. C.
 506.

*Cum peteret regem decepta satellite dextra,
 Injecit sacris se peritura focis.
 Sed tam sæva pius miracula non tulit hostis,
 Et raptum flammis jussit abire virum.
 Urere quam potuit contempto Mucius igne,
 Hanc spectare manum Porfena non potuit.
 Major deceptæ fama est & gloria dextræ.
 Si non errasset, fecerat illa minus.*

That is,

“ The brave hand, that instead of the King him-
 self by mistake slew his officer, feared not to thrust
 itself into flames. But his generous enemy could not
 bear the prodigy of so cruel a fortitude, and snatched
 the young hero from the danger he sought. That
 hand which Mucius, contemning the flames, suffered
 with unconcern to burn, Porfena could not bear to
 behold. Its fame and glory is the greater for having
 missed its aim. Without that mistake, it would not
 have acted so heroically.”

* The word Scævola, is taken from the Greek *σκαπίς*, *lævus*.

A. R. 246.

Ant. C.
506.

These and so many other encomiums lavished upon Mucius by the Roman authors, ought not to impose on us in the judgment we should pass upon an action contrary to all the laws of war; and even the example of several illustrious Romans; among others, that of Fabritius, who warned King Pyrrhus to take care of his physician that intended to poison him, expressly condemns Mucius's undertaking. Nevertheless, the partiality apparently of the Romans for their country, and a sort of enthusiasm for the marvellous part of the action, made them to extol in a Roman what they would have blamed in an enemy of Rome. The undauntedness and firmness of Mucius are in themselves very praise-worthy: but their motive and object render them very criminal.

Porfena, intimidated by the danger he had so lately escaped, and by the terror of those to which he conceived himself every day exposed, began to think seriously of making peace. He caused conditions to be proposed by ambassadors, who set out for Rome with Mucius. At first, merely for form-sake, they demanded the re-establishment of the Tarquins; but, after the first refusal, insisted no longer on that point. They reduced their demands to this; that the Romans should restore to their master a certain territory, which had originally depended on the Heturians, and which had been taken from them by force of arms; and that by way of security for their faithful observance of their engagements, they should put into the King's hands a certain number of young persons of the most noble families of Rome. These conditions were accepted with joy.

As soon as the hostages were delivered, Porfena made his troops march out of Janiculum. Those hostages were twenty in number; ten young Patricians, and as many virgins of the same order. Amongst the latter was Clœlia, descended from one of the principal houses of Rome. The honours with which she had seen the merit of Cocles and Mucius rewarded, inspired her with thoughts of deserving the like. For this purpose she

she ventured to swim the Tiber at the head of her companions, and with them re-entered Rome in a kind of triumph. Valerius, who apprehended that he should be suspected of forwarding this escape, and that the boldness of those virgins might be taken as a perfidy of the Romans, sent them back immediately to Porfena. Tarquin, who had been apprized of this affair, posted himself expressly on the way, and would have seized them, if not prevented by the accidental coming in of Aruns, the King of Clusium's son, who guarded them to the camp. The King, who knew how to value merit, wherever he found it, gave young Cloelia great praises; and, as a mark of his esteem, made her a present of a fine horse richly caparisoned, and permitted her to return, and carry with her half of the hostages, to be chosen by herself. She made that choice in a manner that did her honour: she gave the preference to the youngest, as most exposed to danger by their years. Porfena, struck with the many shining actions of which he had been witness, could not forbear extolling the happiness of a city, which not only produced so many great men, but even young persons of the other sex, who disputed the merit of courage with them. He restored all the prisoners to the Romans, of whom he had taken a great number, without any ransom. And, as a farther mark of his generosity, he gave them his camp, with all the riches and provisions in it, ordering his troops to leave behind them all their baggage, except their arms, and did the same himself. Thus ended the war with Porfena King of the Clusini in Hetruria, in which the Roman Commonwealth had been itself upon the very brink of destruction.

We see here in Porfena a perfect model both for war and peace. He does not arm either from ambition, avarice, or any other personal interest. The motives that determine his conduct are great and glorious: compassion for a dethroned Prince; fidelity to a friend and ally; the common interest of crowned heads; the support of the majesty of Kings; and the

A.R. 246. necessity of avenging its disgraces and injuries. When
 Ant. C. he has discharged with all his forces the faith of his
 506. engagements, he entertains thoughts of peace, which the impossibility of succeeding in his first design has rendered necessary. He confines himself to reasonable conditions, without artifice, without endeavouring to over-reach, and without taking advantage of the unhappy extremities to which his enemies are reduced. After having made a fair war with them, he is for making a fair peace, that may be lasting, sincere and commodious. From enemies he is for making them true and perpetual friends, without leaving any seeds for new ruptures, and bad retrospects, which sometimes happens; as if treaties of peace were rather suspensions of arms, and truces between enemies ready to renew hostilities, than sincere reconciliations, and cordial engagements of amity.

When the army of the Hetrurians was retired, the Senate assembled; and it was resolved that the ivory chair, sceptre, crown of gold, and robe of triumph, formerly used by the Roman Kings, should be sent to *Portus*, as a mark of honour and gratitude. To acknowledge the service of *Mucius*, who had generously devoted himself to death for the preservation of his country, and thereby made way for a happy peace, as much land was granted him, as well as to *Horatius Cocles*, on the other side of the *Tiber* †, as a plow could work in one day; which lands were afterwards called *The Meadows of Mucius*. Young *Clœlia* had also her reward, which was as singular as the action by which she had deserved it. An equestrian statue was erected to her in the street called the *Via Sacra*, leading to that part of the Forum where the assemblies were held; and the fathers of the virgins her companions, who had shared in her glory, were at the expence of it.

These honours granted to *Cocles*, *Scævola*, and *Clœlia*, argue a spirit in the Roman People, attentive

* *Agri quantum uno die circumaravit datum.* Liv.

to place virtue in honour, to inspire the citizens with a lively zeal for their country, and to cultivate a noble emulation in all who were capable of serving it.

A. R. 246.
Ant. C.
506.

Porfena, after having terminated the war with the Romans, sent his son Aruns to besiege Aricia. He had at first considerable advantages over the besieged. But upon the arrival of a strong reinforcement, a battle ensued, wherein the young Prince was killed. The army of the Heturians could not maintain their ground after the death of their General, but were obliged to give way. Some were killed in their retreat, and the rest fled for refuge into the territory of Rome, which was in the neighbourhood. The Romans received them in their flight, dressed their wounded, gave horses to some, put others into waggons, carried them to Rome, lodged them in their houses, and furnished them with provisions and remedies: in a word, they supplied them with every thing their present occasions required. Many were so charmed with these kind offices, that they lost all desire of returning home to their own country, and chose rather to remain with those from whom they had received so many favours. The Senate assigned them ground between mount Palatine and the Capitol, upon which they built themselves houses; and that place was called the street of the Heturians. Porfena, in gratitude for the kind reception which the Romans had given his troops, restored them the lands on the other side of the Tiber, which had been yielded to him by the late treaty of peace.

Liv. l. 2.
C. 14.
Dionys.
p. 304.

P. LUCRETIUS*.

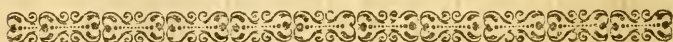
A. R. 247.
Ant. C.
505.

P. VALERIUS PUBLICOLA.

Porfena sent ambassadors this year to Rome, to solicit the re-establishment of the Tarquins, to whom he could not refuse that proceeding. The Senate deputed the most illustrious of their body to represent

* Instead of Lucretius, Dionysius Halicarnassensis writes M. Horatius for the second time, and places the whole history of Porfena and the dedication of the Capitol in this Consulship.

A. R. 247. to him, " that the affair of the Tarquins was a mat-
 Ant. C. ter entirely and irrevocably determined, and that the
 505. Romans were resolved to open their gates to any of
 their enemies rather than to Kings. They entreated
 him not to interrupt any more the perfect union that
 subsisted between himself and the Romans, by a de-
 mand that laid them under the unhappy necessity of
 refusing a Prince any thing, to whom both by grati-
 tude and inclination they were highly disposed to grant
 all things. They concluded with desiring that he
 would be pleased to bury that affair in perpetual silence
 for the future." He made that choice; and Tarquin,
 having lost all hopes of re-ascending the throne,
 retired to Mamilius Octavius his son-in-law at Tus-
 culum.



C H A P. III.

*War with the Sabines. Death and praise of Publicola.
 Different wars. Conspiracy discovered at Rome. Trou-
 bles at Rome in respect to the debts: The People refuse
 to list for the war. Creation of a Dictator. He ap-
 peases the troubles. Truce for a year with the Latines.
 Reflection upon the Dictatorship. Decree in respect to
 the women. War with the Latines. Famous battle
 near the Lake of Regillæ, gained by the Romans. Peace
 granted the Latines. Tarquin retires to Cumæ, and
 dies there.*

Several years passed without any considerable events,
 except the war with the Sabines. I shall content
 myself with only naming the Consuls of each year.

A. R. 248.
 Ant. C.
 504.

SP. LARTIVS.
 T. HERMINIVS.

A. R. 249.
 Ant. C.
 503.

P. VALERIVS.
 P. POSTHUMIVS.

The war with the Sabines began this year, and continued a great while at different times, and with different successs.

P. VALERIUS, IV.

A. R. 250.

T. LUCRETIUS, II.

Ant. C.

502.

A Sabine, called in his own country Atta Clausus, and who assumed the name of Appius Claudius at Rome, a person of high birth and great riches, came to settle amongst the Romans, and brought with him a great number of his relations, friends, and creatures, who followed him with their whole families. Their number amounted to five thousand men capable of bearing arms. His having openly opposed in the public assemblies of his nation, the design they had formed of making war with the Romans, had rendered him suspected, and at length obliged him to quit his country. He was made a Patrician, and admitted into the number of the Senators, and the freedom of the city was granted to all who had followed him. The Romans considered this adoption of the whole family of the Claudii and their clients, as a very advantageous acquisition, that supplied them immediately with so many new instruments for extending their power and greatness. Claudius was in his own person a considerable gain to Rome. He was the head of the family of the Claudii, who distinguished themselves amongst the most illustrious families of Rome.

Liv. l. 2.
c. 16.

AGRIPPA MENENIUS.

P. POSTHUMIUS (1).

A. R. 251.

Ant. C.

501.

In

(1) These two Consuls triumphed for successes against the Sabines. But because the Consul Posthumius had suffered a loss at first, a new kind of Triumph, called Ovation, less honourable than the usual one, was invented and decreed for him. Kennet, in his *Antiq.* Part II. B. 4. c. 16, gives us the following account of this less kind of Triumph.

“ The Ovation some fancy to have derived its name from shouting Evan ! or Evoe ! to Bacchus ; but the true original is Ovis, the sheep, which was usually offered in this procession, as an Ox in the triumph. The show generally began at the Albanian mountain, whence the general with his retinue, made his entry into the city : he went on foot, with many flutes or pipes, sounding in concert as he passed

along,

A. R. 251.

Ant. C.

501.

Dionys.

l. 5. p. 314.

—³⁴⁰.

Liv. l. 2.

c. 16.

Plut. in

Poplic.

p. 109.

In their Consulship P. Valerius Publicola died of disease. He was, by the consent of all the world, the greatest man of his age, and the most accomplished in every kind of virtue. I shall mention only one of them here, far superior to all his most glorious exploits of war. This Roman, so worthy of praise, who, supported by three other Patricians, had delivered Rome from her Kings, and caused their estates to be sold by auction; who had been four times Consul; who by two signal victories, the one over the Hetrurians, the other over the Sabines, had twice in his latter years deserved the honour of triumph; who, with such favourable occasions, might have amassed great riches by methods exempt from injustice and reproach, did not suffer avarice, so capable of dazzling the eyes and corrupting the heart, to ensnare him. Contented with the moderate fortune he had received from his ancestors, he used no endeavours to augment it. He believed that he had enough for bringing his family up nobly, and for giving his children an education worthy of their birth: convinced that true riches do not consist in possessing great treasures, but in knowing how to have few wants; and * that the most precious and most noble inheritance that a father

along, wearing a garland of myrtle as a token of peace, with an aspect rather raising love and respect than fear. A. Gellius informs us, that this honour was conferred on the victor, when either the war had not been proclaimed in due method, or not undertaken against a lawful enemy. and on a just account; or when the enemy was but mean and inconsiderable †. But Plutarch has delivered his judgment in a different manner: he believes that heretofore the difference betwixt the Ovation and the Triumph was not taken from the greatness of the achievements, but from the manner of performing them: for they who having fought a set battle, and slain a great number of the enemy, returned victors, led that martial and (as it were) cruel procession of the triumph. But those who without force, by benevolence and mild behaviour, had done the business, and prevented the shedding of human blood, to these commanders custom gave the honour of this peaceable Ovation. For a pipe is the ensign or badge of peace, and myrtle the tree of Venus, who beyond any of the other deities, has an extreme aversion to violence and war.” ‡

† Noſt. Ant. l. 5. c. 6.

‡ Plut. in Marcel.

* Optima hereditas à patribus traditur liberis, omnique patrimonio præstantior, gloria virtutis rerumque gestarum. Offic. l. 1. h. 151,

can give his children is glory acquired by great actions, and the examples of virtue which he leaves them. He did not content himself, like many of the philosophers, with praising poverty: he loved and practised it to such a degree, as not to leave wherewithal to defray his funeral at his death; which was celebrated with magnificence, but at the expence of the public. *Moriatur, gloria ingenti, copiis familiaribus adeo exiguis, ut funeri sumptus deesset: de publico est elatus.*

A. R. 251.
Ant. C.
501.

What praise, what greatness of soul was this! "He dies, poor as the poorest in respect to fortune; more great, more rich, than the richest in virtues and glory."

What a misfortune is it for our age, that examples of this kind are so rare, or rather not at all! The greatest men endeavour to preserve their memories by titles and riches, which they ardently pursue, in order to leave them to heirs, who are often little qualified to keep them alive and represent them.

The Roman ladies renewed, in respect to Publicola, what they had done before for Junius Brutus, and went all into mourning, which they wore during a year, as much affected with his death as they would have been with that of their nearest relation.

We scarce find examples of the like zeal elsewhere. At Rome, private persons did not divide their interests from those of the public. They considered the losses of the State as their own. They shared in its misfortunes, as if they had been personal and domestic to themselves. Such a disposition constituted the force of the State, united all its parts firmly together, and composed an whole not to be shaken and invincible. These sentiments, perpetuated in every house by living examples, formed the whole city and commonwealth of Rome in a manner into one and the same family, of which even the women made a part, though strangers to government every where else. How much ought we to think This contributed to inculcate the same sentiments early into children, and to form them for zealous citizens from their most tender years! This is what most merits observation in

SULPICIUS, TULLIUS, Consuls.

the constitution of the Roman commonwealth, because what formed its peculiar and distinguishing characteristic.

A. R. 252.
Ant. C.
500.

OPITER VIRGINIUS.

SP. CASSIUS.

These Consuls gained considerable advantages over the Sabines, took the city of Pometia, which they abandoned to be plundered by the soldiers, and received the honour of a triumph.

In the six following Consulships, wherein there seems no small difference between Dionysius Halicarnassensis and Livy, I shall follow the first, according to the system laid down by Mons. de la Curne in the Memoirs of the Academy of Belles Lettres, wherein, by only transposing some facts, he very happily reconciles those two historians.

A. R. 253.
Ant. C.
499.

POSTUMIUS COMINIUS.

TITUS LARTIUS.

Dionys.
l. 5. p. 316,
317.

The Latines, at the solicitation of Octavius Mamilius, Tarquin's son-in-law, held an assembly at Ferentinum, to which, contrary to the usual custom, the Romans were not invited. M. Valerius, a person of Consular dignity, who had been deputed to the neighbouring states to prevent any intrigues against the Commonwealth, repaired to that assembly, and complained strongly of their having excluded only Rome from it. Notwithstanding his remonstrances, the Romans were declared infractors of Treaties in it, and it was agreed to deliberate another time, and more at leisure, upon the measures to be taken for obtaining justice.

The same year was discovered a conspiracy of the slaves for setting Rome on fire. They were put to death.

A. R. 254.
Ant. C.
498.

SERVIUS SULPICIUS.

MANIUS TULLIUS.

Dionys.

l. 5. p. 317
—323.

The Fidenates, solicited and supported by the Tarquins, took arms. The Consul Tullius set out with

with his army to chastise them, and besieged Fidenæ. A. R. 254.
Ant. C. 498.
But the news of a conspiracy, excited by the secret intrigues of Tarquin, obliged him to return to Rome. It was composed, not only of citizens reduced and ruined by debts, but of a great number of slaves, whom resentment for the punishment inflicted upon the others the year before, and the hope of liberty, had induced to enter into the same plot. It was happily discovered by the peculiar favour of the Gods *, says Dionysius Halicarnassensis, and stifled in its birth by the execution of its ringleaders. Sacrifices were made to thank the Gods for preserving the Commonwealth from this danger. The Senate afterwards decreed the celebration of games for three days.

P. VETURIUS GEMINUS.

A. R. 255.
Ant. C. 497.

T. ÆBUTIUS ELVA.

Veturius besieged Fidenæ, but finding it likely to make a long resistance, he changed the siege into a blockade. Dionys.
l. 3. p. 323,
324.

Tarquin besieged Signia, a town in subjection to the Romans; but not being able to take it either by assault or famine, he was at length reduced to retire.

T. LARTIUS.

A. R. 256.
Ant. C. 496.

LUCIUS CLOELIUS.

The Consul Lartius desiring to put an end to the war with the Fidenates, took the field, and after a long resistance forced them to surrender. Dionys.
l. 5. p. 324
—340.

When the Latines received advice of the reduction of Fidenæ, they were seized with terror, which was succeeded by the general indignation of the People against their Leaders, who had hitherto always opposed their design of a rupture with the Romans. In the council soon after held at Ferentinum, those who were for taking arms, inveighed with great violence against such as seemed inclined to peace. Tarquin amongst

* The providence of the Gods, which in all times has preserved Rome from a thousand dangers, and which is still watchful for its safety, averted this misfortune. These are the terms of Dionysius Halicarnassensis.

A. R. 256.
Ant. C.
496.

the rest, and his son-in-law Mamilius, between their intrigues and declamations, had such weight, that all the Latines unanimously resolved upon a war with the Romans. And in order that no distinct State might withdraw itself from the general alliance, and make a separate peace without the concurrence of the whole nation, they all engaged by solemn oaths to observe a strict union with each other, and to treat all who should fail in that point as traitors and enemies to the public. The States, whose deputies signed that treaty, were thirty in number. Sextus Tarquinius and Octavius Mamilius, who were declared generals of the army of the allies, were impowered to raise as many troops as they should judge necessary out of the youth of those States. In order to observe some outward formality, and to have a plausible pretext for taking arms, the Latines deputed the principal persons of each city to carry their complaints of the pretended infraction of treaties to Rome, and to demand immediate satisfaction for them, with menaces, in case of refusal, to attack the Romans with all their forces. Such a discourse was considered as an open declaration of a rupture.

Whilst preparations of war were making, and the levies were began at Rome, new difficulties arose, which occasioned great perplexity. The whole people were far from having the same ardour for this war. The poor, especially those not in a condition to pay their debts, who were far the greater number, refused to take arms, and would not consent in any thing to the desires of the Patricians, unless the Senate passed a decree for the abolition of their debts. Some even threatened to quit Rome, and exhorted each other not to continue any longer in a city where injurious treatment and oppression were the only rewards of their services.

At first the Patricians endeavoured to appease and bring them to reason. But as their exhortations were ineffectual, it was thought necessary to assemble the Senate, in order to deliberate upon measures for preventing

venting the tumult, with which the city was menaced. Never was deliberation more important, nor more difficult in its nature. Opinions were divided. Of the Senators, some who were naturally inclined to gentle methods, and not so rich as many others, were of opinion that some relaxations should be granted in favour of the poor. They believed, that to remit their debts, was purchasing the good-will of the citizens at a small expence; and that the great advantages that would accrue from thence to the public and individuals, would make an ample amends for so small a loss. M. Valerius, Publicola's brother, opened this opinion. "He remonstrated, that nothing was heard in the Forum, but discourses of the poor, expressing their indignation to each other to the following effect:" "To what purpose is it for us to conquer our enemies abroad, if in reward of victory, we find nothing at our return but cruel creditors, a thousand times more to be dreaded than the enemies of our country; and if after having secured the dominion of the Commonwealth, we cannot assure ourselves of our own liberty." "He observed how much reason there was to apprehend, if the aversion of the People for the Senate were not remedied, that they would not only proceed to abandon the city in its greatest danger, but also, which merited more attention, that their despair might throw them into the party of the Tarquins, and make them conceive thoughts of reinstating them upon the throne. That hitherto the People had employed only menaces without proceeding to bad extremes; and that on the present occasion, it was necessary to have some indulgence for them, to prevent greater evils. That the Commonwealth of Athens, in a like conjuncture, on the remonstrances of Solon, had remitted all the debts, with which the poor were burthened. That it would be glorious to ease in the same manner their fellow-citizens, who had rendered the Commonwealth such great services under the kings by defeating the enemy; who had shewn so much ardour and courage in deliver-

ing

A. R. 256.
Ant. C.
496.

ing their country from the cruelty of the tyrants; and who were ready to sacrifice themselves with more zeal than ever in effect of the least complaisance for their present condition. That lastly, they ought to reflect, that it would be unjust to insist, that the citizens should expose their lives, whilst the slightest relief was denied them: especially as they could only be reproached with their poverty, which had rendered them more worthy of compassion than hatred."

This discourse of Valerius was received by many with applause. But Appius Claudius, a man naturally cruel and violent, a character which he transmitted to all his posterity, was of a quite different opinion. He represented, " That the Senate could not with justice refuse the benefit of the laws to creditors, who thought fit to prosecute their debtors with rigour. That the debts of particulars could not be abolished without destroying public credit, the sole tie of human society. That the People themselves, in whose favour so unjust a decree was solicited, would be the first to experience its bad effects; and that, as new wants should arise, the rich would shut their purses, and undoubtedly be averse to advancing their fortunes as before, for setting the husbandman and artist to work, at the hazard not only of making no advantage of them, but of losing their principal. That the discontent of the great was no less to be feared, than the murmurs of the People. That for the rest, some medium might be used, and a difference made with regard to the debtors. That as for such of them, who should be found to have ruined themselves by libertinism and debauch, it would be no great loss if they should all quit Rome, to which they were a disgrace and reproach. That as to the rest, it was but just to afford them some relief. That the creditors, who could easily make this distinction, would act very commendably in having some indulgence for the unfortunate, who had not drawn their distresses upon themselves; and who would be the more obliged to their benefactors, as their favour would be the mere effect

effect of their compassion and liberality. That it did not consist with the equity of the Commonwealth to grant general releases of debt equally for the benefit of the good and bad, and to give away what did not belong to it, by its own authority. That it was at least necessary to leave proprietors the merit of disposing freely of their own fortunes, and not to envy them the right they would have in consequence to the gratitude of their debtors. As to the sedition which they apprehended, that the means to excite it, was to shew fear in acquiescing and giving way; that exerting authority would spread terror, and that one or two examples of severity would awe the mutinous, and reduce them to return to their duty."

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Several other opinions were also proposed. That which took place was, that the Senate should determine nothing in respect to the subject of the present debate, till the war was happily terminated. That then the Consuls should lay this affair before the Senate again, and that in the mean time all proceedings in respect to debts should be suspended. This decree neither satisfied the People, nor appeased the tumult. The poor, who naturally affect openness and simplicity, suspected these evasions, and believed they discerned a design in them to abuse their credulity; and as they did not rely in the least upon the faith of the Senate, they were persuaded that its sole view was to deceive them by these artificial delays.

The Senate were in great perplexity. The Latines, a powerful and warlike nation, were preparing to take the field. The People seemed determined not to bear arms. The Senators had not sufficient authority to compel their obedience, and dared not employ punishments against the refractory, because the law passed by Valerius Publicola gave them power to appeal to the People from all the ordinances of the Consuls. The most certain method for restoring their ancient authority to the Senate, had been to abolish this law: but that was not possible. To prevent the opposition which the People would not have failed to have made,

had

A. R. 256. had they openly attacked their privileges, the Senate
 Ant. C. resolved to introduce a magistrate, whose power should
 496. be monarchical, and superior to all laws, but of short duration. For this purpose, they passed an artful decree, whereby they deceived the People, and without their perceiving it, abolished the law in favour of their liberty. It was conceived in these terms : “ That Lartius and Clœlius, who were then Consuls, should abdicate their power, and by their example all persons whatsoever in the administration of the public affairs. That there should be but one magistrate. That he should be chosen by the Senate, and confirmed by the voices of the People, and that his power should not exceed the term of six months.” The People, who did not comprehend all the consequences of this new decree, made no difficulty to come into it; and though an office of this nature was repugnant to the usual rules and limitations, they left the choice of a proper person to fill it up to the care of the Senate.

This new institution was of great utility with respect to the success of affairs, and always afforded an immediate and effectual resource, as well against the seditious enterprizes of the People, as in the imminent dangers of the State from the enemy. It had fatal effects in the latter times of the Commonwealth : but what is there that the corruption and malignity of mankind does not abuse ?

The question now was to choose a Chief capable of sustaining the whole weight of the government alone. The present affairs of the Commonwealth made extraordinary talents necessary in the person who was to rule it with absolute power. This required a man of wisdom and resolution, one of great experience in military affairs, and of a moderation proof against the excesses, into which fullness of power often leads. Above all a general was wanted, who knew how to maintain discipline in all its vigour, and who had constancy of mind to make himself obeyed by the seditious. All these qualities were thought to unite in T. Lartius, and his colleague did not want merit. The Senate decreed,

creed, that one of the two Consuls should nominate the new magistrate, which was always observed for the future; and, in consequence of a second deliberation, that in the present conjuncture he should nominate his colleague. The Consuls, in whose power it was to determine between themselves, which of the two was most worthy of the sovereign authority, observed a conduct highly superior to the usual manner in which men think and act on such occasions, and which became the object of the public admiration. Neither the one nor the other could be prevailed upon to believe, that he deserved the preference to his colleague. They passed the whole day in mutually giving each other their voices for the office, whilst neither would accept it. The assembly being dismissed, the relations and friends of the two Consuls, and the principal Senators repaired to Lartius's house, where they remained till * night, conjuring him not to oppose the wishes of the public. Overcome by their earnest remonstrances, he at length consented that his colleague should nominate him Dictator: for so that supreme magistrate was called, or at least that name was the most celebrated, and the most used. The true name appears to have been *Magister Populi*.

Lartius † was the first Roman since the institution of Consuls, who had the sole government of the Commonwealth, with unlimited power to determine in respect to war and peace, and to decree without appeal concerning all other affairs. As soon as he was declared Dictator, he chose Sp. Cassius general of the horse, who had been Consul the 252d year of Rome. That magistrate was called *Magister Equitum*, relatively to the name of *Magister Populi*. He was the Dictator's lieutenant, but subject to his orders as well

* From this circumstance perhaps came the custom of declaring the Dictator in the night: it is often mentioned in Livy. Lib. 4. c. 21. lib. 8. c. 23. l. 9. c. 38. *Nocte deinde silentio, ut mos est, L. Papirium Dictatorem dixit.*

† Livy mentions him also as the first Dictator, but three years sooner, and in his first Consulship. Lib. 2. c. 18.

A. R. 256. as the rest of the citizens, and like them in awe of the
 Ant. C. Dictator's rods and axes.
 496.

Lartius judged it proper to give at first an high idea of the office with which he had been invested, and of the sovereign authority annexed to it. He made the Lictors resume the axes, which had been joined with the rods in the time of the Kings, and which Valerius had caused to be removed during his Consulship, in order to render the authority of the new government the more popular. He doubled their number, and made twenty-four Lictors walk before him, carrying those marks of authority, rather with design to awe the seditious than to make use of them. So formidable an appearance produced the effect he expected †. The People, seized with terror at the sight of those rods and axes carried before the Dictator, became far more docile and submissive than they had been hitherto. It was no longer as under the Consuls, whose authority was equal, and from one of whom recourse might either be had to the other, or appeals from their decrees to the People. There was no resource now but instant obedience.

After having imprinted respect and dread in the minds of the most turbulent by the majesty of this train, which differed in nothing from that of the Kings, he caused the Census (or muster) of the People to be made, according to the order instituted by Servius Tullius, and renewed by the first Consuls. The number of the citizens above the age of sixteen amounted to one hundred and fifty thousand seven hundred men.

He then separated the old men from those who were capable of bearing arms; and of the latter formed four bodies of horse and foot. The first, which were the flower of the army, he reserved to himself; and permitted Clœlius, who had been his colleague, to chuse that of the other three which he thought fit to

† Creato Dictatore primum Romæ, postquam præferri secures videntur, magnus Plebem metus incessit, ut intentiores essent ad dicto patendum. Neque enim ut in Consulibus, qui pari potestate essent, alterius auxilium, neque provocatio erat, neque ullum usquam nisi in cura parendi auxilium. Liv. l. 2. c. 18.

command. The third he gave to Spurius Cassius, general of the horse; and put his brother Spurius Lartius at the head of the last, to continue at Rome with the old men for the defence of the city.

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When every thing was in readiness for the war, he took the field, and posted the three armies at the passes through which he believed the Latines might enter the Roman territory.

Convinced that it was the duty of an able general, not only to strengthen himself, but to weaken the enemy as much as possible, and to direct his measures so as to terminate wars without battle, if that could be done, and with shedding as little blood as possible; Lartius believed it better to put an end to this by the method of negotiation, than by that of arms. He secretly deputed persons of confidence to the most considerable of the Latines, in order to conciliate them to pacific views. At the same time he sent ambassadors to all the cities to treat openly of peace. By this conduct he had made some progress in mollifying that people. But the moderation which he shewed soon after, entirely gained him their amity, and alienated them from the chiefs who had induced them to take arms. Mamilius and Sextus, whom the Latines had constituted Generalissimos of their forces, had appointed the general rendezvous at Tusculum, in order to march from thence to Rome. But as they deferred moving a great while, whether in expectation of the succours of some cities slow in furnishing their contingents, or that the omens and auspices were not favourable, part of the army detached itself, and ravaged the country of the Romans. Lartius, who received advice of this, ordered Clœlius to march against them with the chosen troops of the horse and light-armed infantry. The latter falling in with the enemy when they least expected him, took them all prisoners, except a small number of the bravest, who were killed making resistance. Clœlius carried them to the Dictator, who received them with great marks of benevolence. He caused the wounded to be taken

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care of, and without any ransom sent them all to Tuscum, with an embassy composed of the most illustrious of the Romans, who were so successful in their negotiation, that the army of the Latines retired, and the nation concluded a truce with Rome for one year.

The campaign thus terminated, the Dictator led back his army to Rome; and before the expiration of his office, nominated Consuls, and abdicated his authority, without having acted with the least violence or rigour in respect to any Roman citizen whatsoever.

This wise and moderate conduct of Lartius in an office of unlimited power, which often changes and corrupts the best disposition, gives Dionysius Halicarnassensis occasion to make a very judicious reflection, which ought not to be omitted. He observes, that the example set by the first Dictator, was afterwards followed by all his successors in that office down to almost an hundred years before the end of the Commonwealth. Historians (1) mention no Dictator defective in point of lenity and moderation, though the Commonwealth was often obliged to divest the usual magistrates of power, in order to confide all authority to a single person. If Dictators had never been created but for the defence of their country against a foreign enemy, it would be less surprising that being employed abroad they did not abuse their power. But in domestic troubles, when seditions were either to be quelled, the State to be delivered from citizens that aspired at the tyranny, or measures to be taken against an infinity of other dangers which threatened the Commonwealth, that not one of the persons invested with unlimited power should ever give occasion for reproach, or depart from the path marked out for him by the first Dictator, is a very exalted praise of the Roman Commonwealth.

(1) L. Manlius Imperiosus may be excepted, who rendered himself very odious by his rigour and violence. Liv. l. 7. c. 3.

POSTUMIUS, VIRGINIUS, Consuls.

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A. SEMPRONIUS ATRATINUS.

A. R. 257.

Ant. C.

M. MINUCIUS.

495.

Nothing considerable either at home or abroad happened under these Consuls. The truce made with the Latines gave the troops time to respire, and the decree of the Senate, which prohibited creditors to molest their debtors till the end of the war, had put a stop to the murmurs of the poor.

The Senate passed a decree at this time, which seemed extraordinary enough. It was, that the Latine women who had married Romans, and the Roman women who had married Latines, should have liberty to continue with their husbands, if they thought fit, or return into their country. In respect to the children it was ordained, that the boys should remain with their fathers, and the unmarried girls follow the fortune of their mothers. A great number of these marriages had been contracted between the States, neighbours as they were, and united as well by alliance as their common origin. The women, mistresses of their choice, shewed how grateful their residence at Rome was to them. Almost all the Roman wives, who had entered into engagements in the different cities of the Latines, quitted their husbands to return to their country; and all the Latines settled at Rome, except two, renounced their country to continue with their husbands.

AULUS POSTUMIUS.

A. R. 258.

TITUS VIRGINIUS.

Ant. C.

494.

The truce made for a year with the Latines expired this year. Great preparations were made on both sides for the war, and the extraordinary efforts employed gave reason to judge, that the battle which was upon the point of ensuing, would decide the fate of the two people. In such a conjuncture it was thought necessary at Rome to lodge all authority in the hands of a single person. The Consul Virginius declared his colleague Aulus Postumius Dictator, who chose T. Æbutius Elva general of the horse.

Dionys.

l. 6. p. 342.

—358.

Liv. l. 2.

c. 19, 20.

A. R. 258.
Ant. C.
494.

The two armies soon took the field, and posted themselves at no great distance from the lake of Regillæ. That of the Romans consisted only of twenty-four thousand foot, and three thousand horse: that of the Latines amounted to forty thousand foot and three thousand horse. Sextus Tarquinius commanded the left wing of the Latines, and Octavius Mamilius the right. Titus, another of Tarquin's sons, commanded the main body, at the head of the exiles, and of those who had voluntarily preferred the party of the Tarquins to their country. (According to Livy, Tarquin the elder, in person, aged at that time ninety, commanded the center; which is scarce probable.) The cavalry was divided into three bodies, of which two were posted in the wings, and the third in the center. In the Roman army, T. Æbutius, general of the horse, had the left, the Consul Virginius the right, and the Dictator Postumius commanded the main body.

The army of the Romans, as we have seen, was much inferior to that of the enemy: but, when they perceived that the Tarquins were at the head of the Latines, that sight transported them with fury, and seemed to have doubled their force, in inflaming their courage by their hatred for the Tyrants. It was no longer possible to delay the battle; besides which, the Dictator had been apprized, that the enemy expected a considerable reinforcement. It was therefore necessary to give the signal. Never was battle more obstinate and bloody. The generals did not content themselves with giving orders: they engaged in person; and had the greatest share in the dangers. All of them attacked each other body to body, and, except Postumius, those who did not fall, came off very dangerously wounded.

The Dictator, who was in the center with the flower of the cavalry, at first made that of the enemy commanded by Titus, Tarquin's second son, give way, who received a wound in his shoulder with a javelin. As it was necessary to carry him out of the press, his absence made those he commanded lose
courage,

courage, and entirely damped their ardour. The Romans, taking advantage of their consternation, pushed them vigorously, and put them to flight. Sextus, Tarquin's other son, perceived it, and detached the chosen cavalry to support them : upon which they rallied, resumed courage, returned to the charge, sustained the attack of the Romans, and fought with fresh vigour. It appears that Titus returned soon after.

On another side, there was a 'rude encounter between Æbutius, general of the Roman cavalry, and Mamilius that commanded the Tusculans, who had long fought each other with their eyes, in order to engage. With lance in hand they pushed their horses against each other with such impetuosity, that Æbutius was ran through his arm, and Mamilius received a wound across his cuirass. The former not being able to use his lance any longer, was obliged to quit the battle : the other, after having retired for some time into the second line, returned soon after to the charge without regard to his wound, and seeing his troops in disorder, made the cohort of the Roman exiles commanded by Titus advance. As they breathed nothing but vengeance against enemies who had deprived them of their fortunes and country, they re-instated the battle in some measure. At that instant Valerius, one of Æbutius's lieutenants, and brother of the illustrious Publicola, perceiving Tarquin, who shewed himself at the head of the exiles with haughtiness and defiance, and being willing to acquire his family the honour of killing, as well as that which it had already of expelling, the Tarquins, he spurred his horse full speed against him, in order to pierce him through with his lance. Titus, to avoid the charge of so formidable an enemy, fell back into his troops. Whilst Valerius followed him with inconsiderate ardour, he was mortally wounded with a javelin, and fell from his horse. The battle grew hot round his body, where a terrible slaughter ensued. At length Publius and Marcus, the sons of Publicola,

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carried off their uncle from the enemy, and sent his body to the camp by their attendants. Animated with the same fire, they rallied as many of their troops as they could, and both charged into the thickest of the press, where they fell with a thousand wounds.

The Dictator, seeing that the left wing, discouraged by the loss of their leaders, and vigorously attacked by the exiles, began to give way and fly, ordered a detachment of horse to move to the rear of the left wing to stop those that fled, and to treat such as refused to obey as enemies. The Romans in consequence returned with new ardour to the fight. The Dictator at the same time, followed by the chosen troops which he had with him, fell upon the body of exiles with such vigour, that he broke them, bore down all before him, put them to flight, and killed great numbers of them. Titus very probably was killed at this time.

Mamilius, the Latine general, perceiving their disorder, flew to their aid with a great detachment of the reserved troops. Herminius, the Lieutenant-General, knew him by his arms and habit, and spurring his horse against him with the utmost fury, laid him dead with his lance. But whilst he was intent upon taking his spoils, he received a wound with a javelin himself, in the dressing of which he expired a moment after.

Sextus Tarquinius still kept his ground on the left wing of the Latines, and had made the Romans give way on their right, when the Dictator arriving unexpectedly with a body of horse, Sextus believed himself irretrievably lost. In his despair he threw himself furiously upon the Romans; and killed all before him on the right and left, till surrounded on all sides and covered with a thousand wounds, he fell dead on the field of battle, after having sold his life very dear.

The Latines, seeing themselves without leaders, fled in disorder, and abandoned their camp to the Romans, where the latter found considerable spoils. They felt this loss, which was the greatest they had ever sustained till then, long after. Of forty thousand
foot

foot and three thousand horse, of which their army consisted, scarce ten thousand men remained in a condition to return home.

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As the antients always gave the marvellous a share in great events, it is said that two young horsemen, of a more majestic form and mien than usual, shewed themselves to Postumius and his followers: that they marched at the head of the Roman cavalry, piercing all the Latines that came in their way with their javelins, and putting the rest to flight. The same authors add, that in the evening after the gaining of the battle, and the taking of the camp, the same horsemen appeared at Rome in the Forum, as they had been seen in the Roman army, with all the air of persons returned from a battle, fatigued and covered with sweat and dust. That when they dismounted their horses, they gave advice of the victory, and that after they had related exactly in what manner all things had passed, they disappeared. The next day letters arrived from the Dictator, who informed the Senate and People of the success, and mentioned particularly the miraculous assistance, which the Gods in person had given the army. It was not doubted but that those Gods were Castor and Pollux. Accordingly a magnificent temple was afterwards erected to them. Livy says nothing of so marvellous a fact, except that the Dictator in the heat of the action, vowed a temple to Castor. And in reality, though this edifice was built in honour of the two brothers, it bore only the name of Castor*.

The day after the battle the auxiliary troops, sent by the Volsci to the aid of the Latines, arrived not far from the Lake of Regillæ. When they were inform-

* Upon this circumstance a witty saying of Bibulus in Suetonius is founded. He had been created Ædile with C. Cæsar, and having been at the joint expence of games with him to gratify the People, Cæsar however had all the honour of that magnificence ascribed to him. This gave him occasion to say pleasantly, that he had the same fate as Pollux: that all the merit of this festival had been given to Cæsar, in the same manner as only Castor was mentioned in respect to the temple erected to the two brothers. Suet. in vit. Cæs. c. 10.

A. R. 258. ed of what had happened, they returned back faster
 Ant. C. than they came, reproaching themselves with a delay,
 494. which had perhaps occasioned the defeat of their allies.

The Dictator on his return to Rome with his victorious army, had the honour of a triumph. A great number of carriages laden with arms and other spoils, and five thousand five hundred prisoners taken in the battle, preceded his chariot. With the tenth of the spoils he celebrated games and offered sacrifices, the expence of which amounted to forty talents (forty thousand crowns) a very considerable sum for those times.

Some days after the return of the army, the Commonwealth of the Latines sent ambassadors to Rome, chosen out of all the cities who had opposed the last war. They appeared there with olive branches in their hands, and in all the equipage of suppliants. When they were introduced into the Senate, "they began by laying upon the chiefs of the nation the cause of the war, in which the States were no otherwise criminal, than for having suffered themselves to be led by bad guides, who had no views but to their private interest. They represented that they had been severely punished for a forced obedience by the loss which all their cities had sustained of the flower of their youth; a loss so general, that there was not a family in them exempt from mourning. They earnestly demanded, that the Romans would favourably accept the submission of the whole country, and its devotion to their service. They declared, that for the Latines to affect their ancient independence, and to maintain the rights and privileges of which they had hitherto been jealous, was no longer the question. That they offered themselves to the Romans, to be for the future the inseparable companions of all their enterprizes, with entire subordination to their commands; and that they should see without regret all the glory, of which fortune had deprived them, transferred to the Romans."

When

When they withdrew, the affair was taken into consideration. The Senate had great causes to be dissatisfied with the Latines. They had been the first in breaking the union and alliance, and this was not the first time they had failed in point of faith. Some therefore inclined to severity, and believed it necessary to make an example of them. But the great principle of the Roman policy, which was to make friends of conquered enemies by treating them with kindness and clemency, almost always prevailed against the bad reasons, and too narrow views, of certain particulars. However they contented themselves, for the present, with granting the Latines peace; and, to make them the more sensible of their fault, and give them time to make amends for it by a serious repentance, they were made to demand and wait some time before a treaty of alliance was granted them. When the ambassadors were brought in the second time to receive the answer of the Senate, the Dictator told them: "You deserve
" to experience the just effects of our anger, and to
" see all the evils you intended us, if you had been
" successful in your projects, fall upon your own
" heads. But clemency has more weight with the
" Romans, than the desire of revenge. We have not
" forgot that the Latines are our relations, and are
" more affected with their present repentance, than
" their past faults. Return therefore to your cities
" with this answer. When you have delivered up our
" deserters, and driven the exiles from amongst you,
" you will return to treat of peace with us."

The ambassadors went home full of joy. Orders were immediately given for all the exiles to quit the Latine cities, and to release all prisoners. Some days after, they returned to Rome, carrying with them all the deserters in chains it had been possible to seize. The Roman people, satisfied with their submission, granted them peace and their alliance. Thus ended the war with the Tyrants, which had continued fourteen years from their expulsion.

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Ant. C.
494.

A. R. 258.
Ant. C.
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King Tarquin, who was the only surviving person of his family at almost ninety years of age, seeing himself childless, and without relations, disgusted with the Latine states, the Hetrurians, Sabines, and all the neighbouring people, retired to Cumæ in Campania to the tyrant Aristodemus.

That prince had certainly great talents. His address in engaging so many princes and states for his re-establishment; the public works with which he adorned Rome; his courage in war; his constancy under his misfortunes; a war of fourteen years duration, which he made with the Roman People, though deprived of his kingdom and all his fortunes; the continual resources which he knew how to find in his disgraces; all evidently prove that he had great qualities. But his ambition, pride, and cruelty, rendered him the just object of the public hatred and detestation.

He died * worn out with years and disgust. He saw himself in a strange city, alone, abandoned, inconsiderable, and without consolation †; discovering, said he, the infidelity of friendship. But such complaints ill-suited him. Besides that the ‡ generality of the rich and great, if they have friends, have them only for shew and ostentation; has a tyrant who loves none but himself, a right ever to pretend to have real friends §? He must have sycophants, who by base adulation hurry him from vice to vice, who in the counsels they give him never deviate into speaking their opinion, and only contend with each other, who shall succeed best in deceiving him most agreeably.

* Cumas se contulisse dicitur, in eaque urbe senio & ægritudine esse confectus. CIC. 3. Tusc. n. 27.

† Tarquinius dixisse ferunt, tum, cum exul esset, se intellexisse quos fidos amicos habuisset, quosque infidos, cum jam neutris gratiam referre posset. De Amicit. n. 56.

‡ Non in amicitia, sed in apparatu habent. SENECA. de brev. vit. c. 7.

§ Non vides quemadmodum illos in præceptum agat extincta libertas, & fides in obsequium servile submissa, dum nemo ex animi sui sententia suadet dissuadetque, sed adulandi certamen est, & unum amicorum omnium officium, una contentio quis blandissime fallat. SENECA. de Benef. l. 6. c. 30.

The news of Tarquin's death occasioned great joy at Rome both to the Senate and People: but the principal persons of the city made a strange abuse of it. They † had hitherto acted with great moderation and equity with respect to the multitude, for fear they should recal the Tarquins. As soon as they saw themselves delivered from that terror, they began to treat them in a very haughty and unjust manner, arrogating to themselves all authority in the government, and leaving the People no part of it whatsoever. The creditors especially exercised such rigour, or rather cruelty over the debtors, as occasioned a general discontent in the city, and prepared the multitude for an open rupture.

Postumius having abdicated the Dictatorship, the election of Consuls came on, and Ap. Claudius was chosen with P. Servilius.

† Regibus exactis, dum metus à Tarquinio, & bellum grave cum Etruria positum est, æquo & modesto jure agitatum. Dein, servili imperio patres plebem exercere; de vita atque tergo regio more consulere: agro pellere; & ceteris expertibus, soli in imperio agere. Salust. in fragm. ex Augustino de Civit. Dei, l. 2. c. 18.

C H A P. IV.

War with the Volsci. New troubles. Upon the promise of the Consul Servilius, the citizens list. The Volsci are defeated and punished severely. Servilius triumphs notwithstanding the opposition of the Senate. Troubles more violent than ever. Valerius is appointed Dictator. He defeats the enemy. Not being able to obtain a decree for remitting the debts of the People, he abdicates the Dictatorship. Retreat of the People to the Sacred Mountain. Reconciliation of the Senate and People. Institution of the Tribunes of the People: then of the Plebeian Ædiles. Reflections upon the conduct of the Senate.

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493.

AP. CLAUDIUS.

P. SERVILIUS.

Liv. l. 2.
c. 22, 26.
Dionys.
l. 6. p. 361
367.

THE Volsci, informed of what passed at Rome, believed the conjuncture favourable for resuming their arms, which they had not laid down without regret. Whatever good treatment they might have received from the Romans, they could not bear to see themselves subjected to their power, and believed it essential to their honour to throw off a foreign yoke. They began by bringing over the Hernici. They then sent deputies to the Latines, to engage them also in their party. But the latter, to whom the remembrance of their late defeat near the Lake of Regillæ was a good lesson, without regard to the law of nations, delivered up the ambassadors to the Romans, and gave them advice, that the Volsci and Hernici were making preparations of war in concert. This service was so agreeable to the Romans, that they immediately restored to the Latines the six thousand prisoners, which they had at Rome; and the affair of the treaty of alliance, which seemed entirely desperate, was brought again upon the carpet, and referred to the decision of the next Consuls. This was great matter of joy to the

the Latines, and they were never weary of praising those who had given them so salutary advice. They sent a crown of gold to the Capitol as an offering to Jupiter. Many of the prisoners, who had been released at Rome, accompanied the ambassadors, and dispersed themselves into the different parts of the city, where they had been slaves, thanking their masters for their good treatment of them during their captivity, and demanding to enter into a stricter union with them by the rights of hospitality, and particular friendship. Hitherto they had been refused an alliance properly so called. Never did the union of the Latines with Rome appear more sincere, tender and cordial than on this occasion.

The war with the Volsci, which seemed certain and near, was the least evil Rome had to fear. The discord which had for some time been silently gaining ground within the city, and began now to break out, was one of a far more dangerous nature. What made way for it, was, as I have already observed, the cruel and inhuman manner, in which the creditors treated their debtors, who were not in a condition to pay them, and for that reason were delivered into their hands. They kept them prisoners, laid them in irons, and inflicted all kinds of severities upon them. These unfortunate citizens, if they happened to escape from prison, made all places resound with their complaints, and held in public, discourses entirely capable of moving compassion, and exciting the spirit of revolt. One of them, of a great age, went into the Forum in the most wretched and deplorable condition imaginable. His cloaths were filthy and torn, his face pale and wan, and his body lean and feeble. A long beard, with hair neglected and in disorder, completed the hideousness of his figure. Through all his uncouth outside he was however known and whispered about for a Centurion, who had acquired many military rewards by his valour. Himself shewed the honourable wounds he had received in different battles. As the multitude throng'd about him, and he was asked how
he

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Ant. C.
493.

A. R. 259. he came to be in the miserable condition in which he
 Ant. C. appeared: he replied, " That his land having been
 493. ravaged during the war with the Sabines, in which he served, he had not only lost its productions for an year, but his farm had been burnt, all his effects plundered, and his cattle carried off. That to add to his misfortunes, the payment of a tax had been exacted from him, at a time when he had no money, and had been obliged to borrow: that interests rising upon interests, he had first been obliged to sell his land, and afterwards all that he had; that at length the disease had spread itself to his body, and involved his person. That his creditor had carried him prisoner to his house, where he had treated him, not as a slave, but as a condemned criminal." In saying this he bared his back, and shewed the still recent marks of the rods and whips with which he had been tortured.

Upon seeing and hearing this, a great outcry was raised. The tumult spread into all quarters of the city. All who either were, or had been delivered up to their creditors, appeared in public, and implored the aid of the People. The crowd increased every moment. Multitudes repaired from all the streets to the Forum with furious shouts. Such of the Senators as happened to be there, would have been in great danger of being killed, if the Consuls had not hastened thither to appease the tumult. The whole multitude immediately turned towards those magistrates. The poor debtors shewed them their chains, a sad reward for the years they had served their country in arms. They demanded, rather with menaces than the air of suppliants, that they should assemble the Senate, and they crowded around the place where the council was to be held, in such a manner as if they intended to determine the deliberation their own way by force.

A small number of the Senators, whom chance had brought thither, joined the Consuls: fear prevented the rest from appearing not only in the Senate but even in the Forum; so that there was not a sufficient
 num-

number for entering upon deliberation. That excuse did not serve the multitude. They renewed their clamour, and cried out, that the Senators were absent not through chance or fear, but expressly, and in concert amongst themselves, in order to elude their demand: that the Consuls themselves did not act with sincerity, and that it was plain, both insulted their misery. The dignity and power of the Consuls were in danger of being no longer regarded, and the People were upon the point of proceeding to the utmost violences, when the Senators, not knowing whether it would not be as dangerous for them to stay at home, as to appear, arrived at the Senate. When each had taken his place, the affair in question was proposed.

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Whilst the Senate was deliberating, and much divided in opinion, a courier arrived from the Latines, with advice, that the Volsci had taken the field with a numerous army, and were advancing towards Rome. This news produced effects very different in the Senate, and amongst the People, so much progress had discord already made, that of one city it had in a manner formed two opposite and almost enemies to each other. "The populace exulted with joy, and said loudly, that the Gods avenged the pride of the Senators. They exhorted each other not to give in their names for the war. That if they must perish, let them not do so alone, but rather with all the citizens. That the Senators might take arms, and march against the enemy; it being but just that they should experience the dangers of war, who engrossed all the rewards of it."

The Senate, in so difficult a conjuncture, having no less to fear from the citizens than the enemy, were in great perplexity. They desired the Consul Servilius, who was of the milder and more popular disposition of the two, to use his utmost endeavours to conciliate the People, and to bring them back to their duty. Servilius, having dismissed the Senate, repaired to the assembly. "He declared, that whilst the Senate had been deliberating upon the interests of a
part

A. R. 259.
Ant. C.
493.

part of the city, considerable indeed, but however only a part, (he meant the People) a far more serious subject of fear had intervened, which regarded all Rome and the whole Commonwealth. That the enemy being almost at their gates, it was not possible to apply to any other affair. That though that were not the case, it would neither become the People not to have taken arms for the defence of their country, till they had been paid beforehand for their service; nor be for the honour of the Senate, to seem to have taken pains for the relief of the citizens only through fear and against their will, and not out of inclination and choice. That when the campaign was over, the interests of the People should be taken into serious consideration." In the mean time, he passed a decree for suspending all proceedings in respect to debts till the end of the war.

He then took the Census, or muster of the citizens. The number above sixteen years of age, amounted to an hundred and fifty thousand seven hundred men. They not only gave in their names for the service without difficulty or repugnance, but with joy and ardour. However violent and outrageous the People may be, they comply with what is reasonable, when treated with mildness and justice.

Servilius set out with his troops. When he arrived near the enemy, the soldiers, and especially the debtors (I call those by that name who were actually under suit for their debts) demanded eagerly to be led on to battle. The Consul after having delayed some time, to try and whet their courage, seeing their ardour augment, at length gave the signal. Never did soldiers shew more valour and intrepidity. The Volsci in consequence, however vigorous their resistance, could not long sustain so rude a charge, and at length fled. The Romans pursued them to their camp, which the Volsci soon abandoned. The plunder of it was given to the soldiers, who enriched themselves with it. The Consul marched the next day to Sueffa Pometia, whither the enemy had retired. The Volsci defended

defended themselves there for some days with great obstinacy, as they knew they had no quarter to expect. The place was carried by storm, and plundered by the troops: all who were of age to bear arms were put to the sword. The Consul returned with great glory to Rome.

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Appius, who had remained there, in order to intimidate other states from violating the faith of treaties, as the Volsci had done, gave orders on his side for a bloody execution. The three hundred children, who had been given as hostages, were brought into the Forum. After they had been scourged with rods, they were all beheaded. This example of rigour might be necessary to terrify the neighbouring People, and to keep them within the bounds of their duty; and they were generally not scrupulous in breaking the alliances which they had made in times of adversity and misfortune: but so excessive a severity as this is very little removed from cruelty and barbarity, and ill suits the Roman character. Livy accordingly, always attentive to preserve the glory and reputation of his country, makes no mention of it.

Servilius well deserved the honour of a triumph after so successful an expedition. But Appius, his colleague, jealous of his glory, accused him in the Senate of having made himself too popular, and in particular of having distributed all the spoils, which were very considerable, to the soldiers, without reserving any thing for the public treasury. A triumph was therefore refused him. Servilius, highly sensible of that affront, assembled the People in the field of Mars, and after having given an account of the battle and victory which he had lately obtained, and complained of his colleague's envy, and the injustice of the Senate, he set forward in the triumphal habit towards the Capitol, whither all the People followed him with incessant acclamations of joy. He was the first that triumphed notwithstanding the opposition of the Senate: which, on one side extremely incensed the Patricians

A. R. 259. against him; and on the other rendered him more
 Ant. C. agreeable than ever to the People.
 493.

The same Servilius marched soon after, first against the Sabines, who had made some incursions into the territory of Rome, and afterwards against the Aurunci, both of whom he defeated with no great difficulty.

Liv. l. 2.

c. 27—33.

Dionys.

l. 6, p. 367

—411.

The People, after so many victories gained in so short a time, demanded the execution of the promises made them by the Consul and Senate. Appius, both from his natural violence of disposition, and in resentment to his colleague, in order to make void the promise the latter had made the People, adjudged the causes of the debtors according to the utmost rigour of the law; in consequence of which they were delivered up to their creditors as before, and suffered the most cruel treatment. They implored the aid of the other Consul, under whom they had served so usefully, and shewing him the wounds which they had received in several battles, they pressed him to lay their request before the Senate. Servilius, not to exasperate his own order, whom he saw almost unanimous against them, used evasions, and protracted the affair. This policy, as usually enough happens, was prejudicial to himself. In endeavouring to please both sides, he gave both offence. The Senators considered him as an easy soft Consul, that flattered the multitude; and the People, as a light man, and a deceiver; and it soon appeared, that he was no less hated than Appius.

A dispute arose between the Consuls concerning the dedication of the temple of Mercury, which each of them pretended to be his right. The Senate referred the cognizance of that affair to the People, who gave that honourable commission to a private officer named Lætorius, less in favour of a man who was not of a rank to pretend to that august function, than to humble and mortify the Consuls.

This affront put Appius and his whole cabal into a fury. But the multitude had taken courage, and acted quite

quite differently than they had done at first. Not expecting any aid from the Consul, or the Senators, they referred themselves no longer to any but themselves for it. When a debtor was brought to the tribunal to be tried, they thronged thither from all parts. When the Consul passed sentence, they raised such cries and clamour, that it could not be heard; and nobody dared put it in execution. Danger and fear changed sides, and went over to the creditors, who were insulted before the Consul's face.

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In this conjuncture a war with the Sabines menaced Rome. A decree passed for levying troops: but none offered themselves for the service. Appius became furious, and complained loudly of the soft complacency of his colleague, who by a popular silence betrayed the commonwealth; and, to his first prevarication, which had prevented him from rendering justice in respect to the debts, added a second no less criminal, in not making the levies decreed by the Senate. He added, "That the commonwealth however should neither remain entirely without defence, nor the Consular dignity without force. That he should try whether himself alone could not sustain his own authority, and the honour of the Senate."

But the boldness of the People, encouraged by impunity, continually augmented. Appius ordered a remarkable ringleader of the sedition to be seized. The Lictors had already laid hold of him, when he appealed from the sentence. The Consul, foreseeing aright what the People's judgment would be, would not comply with the appeal, and seemed absolutely determined to proceed without regard to it. But at length he suffered himself to be overcome, less by the seditious cries of the People, than the wise remonstrances and authority of the principal Senators. The evil however became more serious. The multitude confined themselves no longer to mere outcries: but, what was of a far more pernicious tendency, they retired into particular places in order to hold secret assemblies. The Consuls at length quitted their office, both much hated by the

People. Appius was extremely in favour with the Senate, whereas Servilius was esteemed by neither of the two parties. A. Virginius and T. Vetusius were elected their successors.

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A. VIRGINIUS.

T. VETUSIUS.

The multitude now, in their uncertainty how the new Consuls would act, began to hold nocturnal assemblies, partly on the Esquiline and partly on the Aventine hills, in order to concert the measures it might be necessary to take as occasions should offer, and to avoid the confusion and suspense, with which sudden resolutions are almost always attended. The Consuls perceiving how pernicious the consequences of these assemblies might become, made their report of them to the Senate. The suffrages could not be collected in order, so much tumult and clamour arose on this representation against the Consuls, who instead of reforming so great an abuse, as their office required, were for ridding themselves of the odious part of it, by transferring it to the Senate. They were reproached with their weakness. "Are you magistrates," said they? "Were you really so, we should not see these frequent consultations held on the Esquiline and Aventine hills. One man of prudence (for such an one we want, who is undoubtedly of far more weight than a Consul) such a man as Appius, would have put an end to all these assemblies in an instant." After this reprimand, the Consuls asked, what the Senate would have them do; and assured them that they should not want resolution to execute their orders. They were answered, that it was necessary to make the levies with all possible severity: that the populace were only bold and insolent because they wanted employment.

The Senate being dismissed, the Consuls ascended their tribunal, and cited the younger citizens to list by name, but none of them made any answer. They were told, "That the people would not suffer themselves

selves to be imposed upon; and that they should not have a single soldier, if they did not keep the promise that had been made them. That before they put arms into their hands, it was necessary to restore each man his liberty, that they might know whether they were to fight for their country and fellow citizens, or for cruel and merciless lords or masters." The Consuls well knew what the Senate had directed them to do: but of all those bold haranguers, who had talked so high within the walls of their house, where they ran no risque, not one appeared to support and share the danger with them; and it was evident that they were upon the point of experiencing a rude conflict with the People. Before they proceeded to the last extremities therefore, they judged it proper to consult the Senate a second time, and repaired to them directly. The young Senators then thronged around them, and treating them as unworthy of their office, bade them with insults abdicate an authority they wanted capacity to sustain. The Consuls were very brief in their reply. "That you may not plead ignorance, Fathers," said they, "we inform you, that you are upon the point of seeing a terrible sedition break out. We demand of those who reproach us with weakness, that they will lend us their assistance in making the levies: since it is your pleasure we proceed to the vigorous measures you advise." They then returned to their tribunal, and caused one of the Plebeians, upon whom they had their eyes, to be summoned by name. As he continued without moving, and the citizens crowded about him to prevent any violence from being done him, the Consuls ordered a Lictor to seize him. The Lictor being repulsed, such of the Senators as were present with the Consuls, exclaiming against the indignity, went down from the tribunal, and ran to assist the officer. The multitude then, who had contented themselves with hindering the Lictor from seizing the person who had been called upon to list, attacked the Senators themselves. Upon the interposition of the Consuls,

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492.

fuls, the tumult was appeased. Neither stones nor darts were employed; the affair passing with more noise and threats than real mischief.

In the mean time the Senate assembled tumultuously, and proceeded to give their opinions with still greater tumult and disorder. Such of the Senators as had been personally insulted, demanded that the culpable should be proceeded against. At first nothing was heard in the assembly but clamour and rage. When this first uproar was a little pacified, on the Consuls complaining, that there was as little wisdom in the Senate as amongst the populace, they began to deliberate with more order and tranquillity. Their opinions were reduced to three heads. "Virginius was against remitting the debts of all the debtors indiscriminately, and only for discharging those, who, upon the promise of the Consul P. Servilius, had served in the wars against the Volsci, Aurunci, and Sabines. T. Largius represented, that it was not now a time to weigh and examine services with rigour: that the whole multitude were overwhelmed with debts, and that there was no putting a stop to the evil, but by making the relief general. That to make a difference between the debtors was to kindle and not extinguish discord." Appius Claudius, who was naturally violent, and still more so on the present occasion, in effect of the People's hatred on the one side, and the excessive praises of the Senators on the other, said: "It is not misery, but licentiousness, that occasions the evils we now see. The populace are insolent because they are idle. The sole source of all these disorders is their right to appeal. When a criminal can appeal from our judgments to his own accomplices, the Consuls have nothing left but menaces, void in reality of all power. It is therefore necessary, added he, to create a Dictator, from whose decrees there are no appeal. This flame, that now spreads so much, will then come to nothing in an instant. When they see the absolute power of life and death in the hands of a single person: let them dare to insult his Licitors."

Appius's

Appius's opinion seemed to many, as it really was, excessive and violent. On the other side, those of Virginius and Largius gave reason to apprehend very pernicious consequences; especially that of the latter, which would entirely ruin credit and commerce *. It was agreed that the counsel of Virginius, which by a wise medium corrected Largius's excess, was the most moderate and eligible: but the intrigues of cabals, and the view of private interest, which always did, and always will, prejudice public deliberations, occasioned the preference to be given to Appius' opinion, who was very near being declared Dictator himself. That would have entirely exasperated and alienated the People in a very dangerous conjuncture, when the Volsci, Æqui, and Sabines, were actually in arms in concert †. But the Consuls and ancient Senators took care, that an authority in itself imperious and absolute should be conferred upon a person of a mild and moderate disposition. Manius Valerius, the son of Volesus, was nominated Dictator.

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Ant. C.
492.

Though the People saw plainly, that it was against them a Dictator was created, as they were obliged for the Right of Appeal to the brother of the person chosen, they did not believe, that they had any thing dangerous to apprehend from so popular a family. The Dictator passed a decree, little different from that passed not long before by the Consul Servilius on the like occasion, by which he granted a suspension of all proceedings for debt; and promised, when the campaign was over, to terminate an affair which occasioned so many troubles. The Dictator's name, which was extremely grateful to the People, and the sovereign power of his office, induced them to place their confidence in him. The citizens gave in their names, and listed without difficulty. Ten legions were levied,

* Medium maximè, & moderatum utroque consilium Virginii habebatur. Sed factione respectuque rerum privatarum, quæ semper offecere officientque publicis consiliis, Appius vicit.

† Sed curæ fuit Consulibus & seniores patrum, ut imperium, suo vehementer, mansueto permetteretur ingenio.

A. R. 260. each consisting of four thousand foot and three hundred horse : the Romans had never had so numerous an army on foot before. Each of the Consuls had three legions ; and the Dictator reserved four for himself.

Ant. C.
492.

They could not defer taking the field immediately. The Latines, whose country had been ruined by the Æqui, demanded instant aid. The Consul Vetusius, who marched on that side, soon obliged the enemy to retire, and some time after defeated them in battle.

The other Consul was sent against the Volsci. Their army was more numerous than his. However, he defeated them in battle, took their camp, and pursued them to Velitræ, whither they retired, entered the place pell-mell with them, and made a great slaughter.

The Dictator in the mean time was at blows with the Sabines, on which side lay the weight of the war. He defeated them, took their camp, gained a complete victory, and abandoned the spoils, which were very considerable, to the troops. He entered Rome in triumph. Besides other honours, a distinguished place, with a * Curule chair, was granted to himself and his descendants in the shews of the Circus.

After this ceremony, he disbanded his army, and declared his soldiers discharged from the oath they had taken at listing. And in order to give the People a new proof of his affection, he chose four hundred out of their order, whom he raised to that of Knights : which highly displeased the Senate.

The success of the three last wars had been entire : but the domestic troubles, which had only been lulled and suspended for a time, gave both the Senate and People great disquiet. Whilst the troops were fighting abroad for the safety of the state, the usurers on their side had taken all possible measures to frustrate the People's expectation, and the good intentions of

* The Curule chair was a seat of ivory peculiar to the principal magistrates.

the Dictator. Valerius, previously to every thing, immediately after his return, proposed the affair of the debts in the Senate, and demanded, that satisfaction should be given the People, victorious over the enemies of the State, and who had just given shining proofs of their zeal for the service of the Commonwealth. The faction of young Senators, which prevailed in that body, and who believed every thing proposed for the relief of the People contrary to the authority of the Senate, broke out into violent reproaches against the Dictator, as if he had betrayed the interests of his own order to make his court to the People, and occasioned his proposal to be absolutely rejected. Valerius did not lose time in vindicating himself before persons incapable of hearing reason. “ I offend you, said he to them, in giving you counsels of peace and concord: “ I do not doubt, but in a little time you will be glad, “ that the patrons and defenders of the People should resemble me. As to what regards me, I will neither frustrate the expectation of my fellow-citizens, “ nor continue Dictator in vain. The discord within “ doors, and the wars abroad, made this office your “ desire. Abroad we are assured of peace: at home “ we oppose it. I chuse rather to be a witness of “ sedition as a private person, than as Dictator.” On saying this, he quitted the Senate abruptly, and called an assembly of the People.

When the assembly was formed, he appeared in it with all the marks of his dignity. He returned the People thanks for their readiness in taking arms by his order; and at the same time gave great praises to the ardour and bravery they had shewn against the enemies of the Commonwealth. “ You have done “ your duty, says he, as good citizens. It should be “ my turn to perform the promise I made you. But “ a faction more powerful than the authority itself of “ a Dictator, prevents the effect of my good intentions. I am treated openly as the enemy of the “ Senate: my conduct is censured; and my having “ abandoned the spoils of the enemy to you, and dis-
“ charged

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A. R. 260. “ charged you from the military oath, are imputed
 Ant. C. “ to me as crimes. I know in what manner I should
 492. “ have retorted such injuries in the vigour of my
 “ years. But they despise an old man above seventy:
 “ and as I can neither avenge myself, nor do you jus-
 “ tice, I voluntarily renounce a dignity that is become
 “ painful to me, because useless to you.” The Peo-
 ple heard this discourse with sentiments of the highest
 respect and veneration. Every body did him the jus-
 tice he deserved, and the whole multitude reconduct-
 ed him to his house with as many praises, as if he had
 passed sentence for the abolition of debts.

The People kept within bounds no longer, and the
 Senate began to be afraid, when they saw the debtors
 assemble, not by stealth and in the night, but pub-
 licly and in the face of day. Under pretence that the
 Æqui and Sabines were preparing to renew the war,
 the two armies, who had taken the military oath to
 the Consuls, were ordered not to quit their arms, nor
 separate. It is proper to observe, that each Roman
 foldier, in listing, swore not to abandon his colours,
 nor to withdraw without an express discharge. This
 oath was called *sacramentum*, because an oath is a
 thing sacred in itself. Whatever the soldiers might
 desire, they could not depart from it: so strong was
 the impression of religion at that time upon their
 minds. The Consuls having made them quit the city,
 encamped not far from each other in the neighbour-
 hood. The first method the soldiers thought of for
 discharging themselves from the oath, was to kill the
 Consuls to whom they had sworn. Could one believe,
 that so strange and monstrous a mixture of religion
 and wickedness could ever enter the heart of man?
 As they were told, that no religious engagement could
 be dissolved by a crime, one Sicinius conceived another
 method. This was, to march off with the ensigns of
 the first camp, and afterwards with those of the second,
 in doing which they should not desert, because they
 should have with them what they had sworn not to
 abandon. The expedient pleased the troops. How
 small

Nullam
 scelere re-
 ligionem
 exsolvi.

small a thing satisfies the consciences of the weak! Having nominated new Centurions, and placed Sicinius at their head, they retired in good order to a mountain, which was afterwards called The Sacred Mountain, at three miles from Rome, on the other side of the river Anio, now called the Teveron.

A. R. 260.
Ant. C.
492.

So general a desertion, which seemed the commencement of a civil war, extremely alarmed the Senate. They saw then how much they had erred in not believing Valerius. Some Senators were deputed to those soldiers, to prevail on them by fair promises to return to Rome on the promise of the Senate. The army scarce vouchsafed them an hearing. "It becomes you well, said Sicinius to them, to give us your word for security, after having broken it so often. You are for being sole masters of the city. Very well, you have our consent to it. The inferior People, and the poor, shall no longer be a burthen to you: Any place where we can live in liberty will be our country."

When this answer was reported, it occasioned extreme consternation. Nothing was to be seen in the city but trouble and confusion, the Plebeians preparing to retire, and the Patricians using their utmost endeavours to prevent it. Guards were posted at the gates: but they were soon forced by the great numbers of the People, most of whom went to join the troops. They committed no ravages in the country: but kept themselves within a well fortified camp, which they never quitted, but to fetch in provisions; contenting themselves with mere necessaries. So wise and moderate a conduct, which there was no room to expect, alarmed the Senators more than all the rest, and shewed them, that this was not a transient flame, a short emotion that would soon spend itself and disappear; but from the manner, in which this sedition began, every thing passing with order, and in concert, that the consequences might be very fatal. In order to prevent them, they sent new deputies to know what the People demanded, the Senate being highly disposed

A. R. 260. ed to give them satisfaction. They were no better
 Ant. C. received than the first, and for their whole answer were
 492. told, that the Senate ought to know the grievances of
 the citizens, and that they should soon find what ene-
 mies they had to deal with.

In the mean time the Consuls year being upon the point of expiring, they summoned an assembly in the field of Mars, in order to elect their successors. It was customary for many candidates to present themselves. The citizens who stood for offices, were called so, from their being clothed in robes peculiarly white. None appeared at this time: and many refused the Consulship, though offered them. It is no wonder, that no body would accept the helm at a time like this, when the vessel of the Commonwealth was tossed with so violent a storm. The People, that is to say those who remained in the city, were obliged to nominate the Consuls themselves. They chose Postumius Cominius and Sp. Cassius, who had borne that office before, and were believed equally agreeable to Plebeians and Patricians. They entered upon office sooner than usual, that is to say, upon the first of September.

POSTUMIUS COMINIUS.

A. R. 261.
 Ant. C.

SP. CASSIUS.

491.

The first thing that the new Consuls did, was to propose the affair of the debts to the Senate. They found abundance of opposition to it, especially from Appius, who constantly insisted that all the favour shewn the populace only made them the more insolent, and that nothing but inflexible severity could reduce them to their duty. All the younger Senators blindly gave into this opinion. Many very tumultuous assemblies were held, which passed in altercations and reproaches, and in which nothing was concluded. The ancient Senators were all inclined to peace, and were convinced that the good of the state required the re-establishment of concord between the citizens as soon as possible, at any price whatsoever. Agrippa Menenius

Menenius strongly supported this opinion. He was a man generally respected, who had always observed a wise medium between the two parties, neither countenancing the pride of the Great, nor favouring the licentiousness of the People. He was one of the new Senators, chosen by Brutus soon after the expulsion of the Kings; and by that attachment to the People by origin, and to the Senate by his new dignity, he was a very proper person to act as a Mediator between them. He spoke in the strongest terms upon the indispensable necessity of putting an end as soon as possible to the unhappy discord that disturbed the tranquillity of the State. He concluded, that it was necessary to send a deputation, composed of the most ancient Senators, to those who had retired, with full power to conclude a peace upon such conditions, as they should judge most for the advantage of the Public. This advice was almost universally approved. Ten deputies were nominated, in the number of whom the Senate did not fail to include himself.

They set out without loss of time. All that had passed in the Senate was already known in the camp. The multitude went out to meet them, and received them with great marks of joy. Menenius Agrippa spoke. He dwelt much upon the good intentions of the Senate, who had given them full power to treat. He shewed the fatal effects of civil dissensions, which had often ruined the most potent kingdoms, and the great advantages of concord, which raised the weakest States to a supreme degree of power and greatness. He concluded his discourse with a fable, known now to all the world, which then made a very strong impression upon every body by its novelty. “ At a
 “ certain time, said he, when the members of the
 “ human body were not in the same good understand-
 “ ing as they are at present, and each member had
 “ its different counsel and language, the other parts
 “ of the body were enraged that they should all la-
 “ bour for the belly, whilst it enjoyed the pleasures
 “ provided for it in idleness and at ease. In conse-
 “ quence

A. R. 261.
 Ant. C.
 491.

A. R. 261. " quence they formed a conspiracy against it, and
 Ant. C. " agreed amongst themselves, that the hands should
 491. " no longer carry food to the mouth, that the mouth
 " should not receive it, and that the teeth should not
 " grind it. Whilst they were thus wrathfully intent
 " upon reducing the belly by famine, all the members,
 " and the whole body, grew exceedingly lean and
 " languid. That effect discovered, that the belly was
 " not so idle as it had been thought, and that if it was
 " nourished by the other members, it contributed no
 " less to their support, in communicating, by the di-
 " gestion of food, to all parts of the body, that blood,
 " by which their life and strength subsisted, and in
 " circulating it in due quantities through all the
 " veins." He compared this intestine sedition of the
 parts of the body to the discord that then divided the
 People and Senate. That application, which was very
 natural, pleased the whole assembly.

He afterwards proposed the following conditions.
 That such as were insolvent should be entirely discharg-
 ed from their debts. That such of the citizens as
 either had been delivered up to their creditors for
 debts, or were liable to such judgment, should have
 entire liberty. That for the time to come the Senate
 and People should unite in making such regulations
 in respect to the affair in question, as should be judged
 most expedient. The People agreed to all these con-
 ditions: but they demanded, that one should be added,
 which was of far greater importance. By the creation
 of a Dictator with unlimited authority, the law, which
 admitted appeals to the People from the decrees of any
 magistrate whatsoever, was in a manner made void.
 To reinstate them in some measure in their rights,
 they insisted that magistrates should be created, whose
 sole duty should be the conservation of their rights
 and privileges, who should be elected only out of the
 People, and whose persons should be sacred and in-
 violable. Though the deputies had unlimited powers,
 and did not disapprove this new demand; however,
 as it was unforeseen, and of great importance, they
 desired

desired permission to impart it to the Senate, whose consent they urged to be absolutely necessary. The Senate in consequence complied with it, notwithstanding the opposition of Appius, who in the highest fury called upon Gods and men to witness all the evils, which such an innovation would bring upon the Commonwealth. All that the deputies had concluded was ratified by the Senate. The People in effect created the new magistrates in the assembly called Comitia Curiata, who were called Tribunes of the People. The persons first chosen were L. Junius Brutus, and C. Sicinius Bellutus, who had always been at the head of the People from the beginning of this affair; and after them C. and P. Licinius, and Sp. Icilius Ruga. These were the first five Tribunes of the People. They entered upon office the tenth of December; and from thenceforth the Tribunes of the People always began to act on that day.

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491.

Lucius Junius, who was placed at the head of the Tribunes, had the same name as he who had expelled the Tyrants; and, in order to have a more entire resemblance to that illustrious deliverer of his country, he even caused himself to be surnamed Brutus. He was a turbulent seditious man, who wanted neither wit nor penetration, was particularly a great speaker, and spoke freely what he thought.

I have already said, that the persons of these magistrates were sacred and inviolable. The People passed an express law for that purpose, by which it was prohibited to lay hands upon the Tribunes, or do them any violence, upon any pretence whatsoever. Whoever infringed this law, was declared accursed: *sacer esto*; and his estate confiscated to the goddesses Ceres. It was lawful to kill him without any form of prosecution. And in order that this law might never be violated, the People engaged themselves by oath, and under the most dreadful imprecations, as well in their own name as in that of all their descendants, never to abolish it. This law was called *sacred*; as all laws were that were confirmed by an oath, and imprecations

A. R. 261. tions against such as violated them : and this occa-
 Ant. C. sioned the mountain to which the People had retired,
 491. and where it was passed, to be called the Sacred Mountain.

Two other annual magistrates were created at the same time, called Plebeian Ædiles, who were subordinate to the Tribunes of the People, caused their orders to be put in execution, administered justice under them, took care that the temples and public places were kept in repair, and presided in respect to provisions.

Thus the last troubles excited on account of debts were terminated, after having subsisted above three months.

This is the first sedition mentioned in the Roman history, I mean between the two orders of the state. The origin and cause of it are by no means for the honour of the Senate ; the avarice and cruelty of many of their Body having made way for it. The citizens, who had lost what they had by the misfortunes of the times, the incursions of enemies, and the ravaging of their lands, by bad seasons, fires, and the like accidents, and some no doubt by their own bad conduct, were thereby rendered unable to cultivate their lands, continue their commerce, and employ themselves in their usual labours. They saw themselves therefore obliged to have recourse to the rich, who willingly opened their purses to them, but upon the hard and heavy condition of paying great interest for the money they lent them. This small, present, and transitory assistance became their ruin. Arrears were perpetually running on, and debts augmenting ; whilst even relief itself increased the incapacity of discharging them. At length, when they were become entirely insolvent, they were delivered up by the law to their creditors, who treated them with the utmost cruelty like slaves, loading them with irons, and flogging them with scourges. I am sensible that the whole body of the Senators were not infected with this shameful disease of avarice : we have seen many of them carry their con-

contempt of riches, and love of poverty, almost to excess. The whole Senate may, however, in some sense be said to have made themselves accomplices in that crime by their indolence and connivance. A single example of severity employed at first against the culpable, would have put a stop to the evil in its origin : but the Poor are looked upon as nothing, and people are afraid to offend the Great. The government, however, by this weak condescension are accountable for a thousand disorders, which it had been easy to suppress in their birth, and which afterwards became too strong to be remedied.

A second fault of the Senate, no less contrary than the former to the most essential principles of good policy, was breach of faith and promise. When the enemy are at the gates of Rome, and there is a pressing occasion for the People, the Senate grows gentle, becomes kind, and makes caresses with the finest promises in the world. As soon as the danger is over, they believe themselves discharged, and entirely forget them : an unworthy and wretched conduct, that brings the Commonwealth to the very brink of destruction. If on the other side there had not happened to be some good hearts and wise heads in the Senate, to advise and support that body, and the Roman People on the other had been more violent and outrageous, perhaps there had been an end of Rome for evermore. The enemies at the gates with the Tarquins at their head, the People discontented and revolted : at such a time what was not to be feared ! It is said with great reason, that faith to engagements is the firmest foundation and support of states, and that it ought to be the principal object of all who have the administration of public affairs.

The character of the Roman People is perfectly seen in the commotions and troubles I have just been relating. We must remember that they were not subject to the Senate, that they were independent of that Order's authority, and formed, as well as itself, a distinct body of the state. What I admire then in this People, is the wisdom and moderation which they shew in

A. R. 261. the very height, as it seems, of their rage and ferment.
 Ant. C. They commit no hostility, they ruin no lands of the
 491. Patricians their enemies, and re-unite as soon as reasonable conditions are granted them. They retain this moderation during more than three hundred years, notwithstanding the continual contests between the Senate and People. The first sedition wherein blood was shed at Rome, was that of Tib. Gracchus.

The Senate were well punished for the faults they had committed in the affair of the debts, by the new institution of the Tribunes of the People, which was the consequence of it, and which gave a mortal wound to their authority. At first they were only five in number, which was afterwards augmented to ten. They were chosen by the People, and could be elected only out of their order. Their election came on regularly the tenth of December. Their office was annual. As it was not deemed in the rank of the highest dignities of the State, in order to strengthen its authority, and for the better security of the persons of the Tribunes, it was declared sacred and inviolable by a decree of the People, and all violence to them prohibited upon pain of death. They were at first created to prevent the People from being oppressed, to serve them as an asylum and support against the great, and to defend their rights and interests. A citizen who believed himself injured had recourse to them. They supported him, not only against private persons, but the magistrates themselves. If the Senate passed any decree, or formed any resolution, that displeased the People, it sufficed that only one of the Tribunes opposed it, to suspend its execution. If the authority of the Tribunes had been confined within the bounds of its first institution, which was to defend and support the * People against the unjust enterprizes of the Senate, nothing had

* I think it necessary here to explain once for all a word that frequently recurs in this history, which has a double sense: this is the word People. That word often signifies the whole Roman people, considered generally, as forming only one body, but composed of two parts, of which the Senate is the most noble. For example, in this sense is said, The Sabines made war against the Roman people: They concluded a peace with the Roman people, &c. The same word is very

had been more laudable and useful; nothing being more reasonable, than that the People should have magistrates for the conservation of their privileges. But the Tribunes did not keep long within those just bounds. They laboured perpetually to augment the power of the People; making it their glory to humble and mortify the Senate as much as possible.

The power of these magistrates became so formidable, that they believed themselves sufficiently authorized to arrest and imprison the Consuls themselves.

In a word, there was nothing that they did not undertake and effect by invincible perseverance. We shall soon see the faction of these Tribunes, the perpetual artificers of discord, occasion a declared war to take place between the Senate and People, which will be carried on with great warmth and violence on both sides, will have truces from time to time of considerable length and sufficient tranquillity, but not come to taking arms and shedding blood till after a very long series of years.

Before I conclude this point, it is necessary to observe, that the power of the Tribunes was confined to Liv. 1. 13, the city, and that the Right of Appeal itself did not c. 5. extend to above a thousand paces from Rome.

very often taken only for one part of the Commonwealth, called sometimes Plebes, from whence comes the word Plebeians, which can be rendered in French only by the word *Peuple*, *People*: for that of populace, strictly speaking, signifies only the mob or dregs of the People. The context generally suffices to clear up this ambiguity; but I thought proper to take notice of it, because I find myself sometimes at a loss about it.

T H E

R O M A N H I S T O R Y.

B O O K T H E T H I R D.

THIS third book includes the space of almost thirty years, from the history of Coriolanus, which immediately follows the institution of the Tribunes of the People, till the law proposed by the Tribune Teretillus, which makes way for the creation of the Decemviri; that is to say, from the 261st to the 290th year of Rome.

C H A P. I.

Siege and taking of Corioli, where Anc. Marcius, afterwards surnamed Coriolanus, distinguishes himself. Treaty with the Latines renewed. Death of Menenius Agrippa. Honours rendered to his poverty. Excessive famine at Rome. New troubles. Coriolanus demands the Consulship, and is rejected. He declares violently against the People on the occasion of the distribution of corn. He advises the Senate to take the advantage of the People's misery for abolishing the office of Tribune. He is cited before the People, and condemned to banishment. He retires to the Volsci, and engages them to make war with Rome. He besieges Rome. He rejects the embassy of the Senators; and that of the Priests. He raises the siege at the request of his mother, and returns into banishment. His death.

P E A C E

PEACE being re-instated within doors, Rome had no other thoughts than of raising troops for the war abroad. During the troubles of the Commonwealth, Sp. Cassius and Postumus Cominius had been elected Consuls. The command of the army fell to the latter by lot. It consisted of a great number of Roman troops, and considerable succours of the Latines. The Consul marched against the Volsci, took two small towns, Longula and Polusca, by assault, and then sat down before Corioli, one of the strongest places in the country. The inhabitants had made preparations for the siege before; and accordingly made a vigorous defence. The Consul did not succeed in his first attacks, which were continued till night; but was repulsed with great loss. Resolved to renew the assault the next day, he caused rams, mantles, and scaling-ladders to be got ready. But receiving advice, that the Antiates were on their march to aid the people of Corioli, their relations and allies, and approached with a strong reinforcement, he divided his army into two bodies, left one to continue the siege under the command of T. Largius, and marched with the other to meet the enemy.

Amongst the troops that remained before Corioli was a young officer, named Marcius, a Patrician by birth, and generally * esteemed for his valour and prudence, who will act a great part in the sequel. Having lost his father in his infancy, he was brought up under the care of his mother Veturia, a woman of austere virtue, and shewed by his example, that if the condition of an orphan is unfortunate on many accounts, it does not however prevent one, whose fate it is, from becoming a great man. But as that condition generally occasions the neglect of education, it often happens, that in such persons the greatest virtues are attended with great vices, which have not been corrected in their youth. The character of Marcius was

* Consilio & manu promptus.

† Ἡμῶν δ' ἐφ' αὐτὸν πανσπουδαιὴν παῖδα τίθησι.

Hem. Il. l. 22. v. 490.

A. R. 261.
Ant. C.
491.
Dionys.
l. 6. p. 411
c. 33.
Plut. in
Coriol. p.
216--
218.

Plut. in
Coriol.
p. 314.

A. R. 261.
Ant. C.
491.

steadiness and constancy in his resolutions, which made him do abundance of great and noble actions, but which, for want of having received the proper bent in time, made him also commit a great number of considerable faults; not unlike a rich and fertile soil, which, when uncultivated, produces abundance of bad, amongst its good, plants and herbage. Accordingly, that steadiness and constancy often degenerated into excess and passion, of which he was not master, and an inflexible obstinacy, that did not know what it was to give in through complacency to the opinion of another. Hence, at the same time that he was admired for a superiority of soul, which rendered him inaccessible to pleasures and riches, and invincible to the severest labours, his lofty and imperious disposition made him seem difficult and untractable in the commerce of life. So true is it, says Plutarch after having drawn his character, that the best fruit men can derive from the familiarity of the muses, is to acquire in the commerce of letters a gentleness and humanity of disposition, that renders them amiable.

Marcus signalized himself in a particular manner at the siege of Corioli. The besieged, full of confidence in effect of the aid which the Antiates were bringing them, opened all their gates, and made a general sally upon the besiegers. The Romans kept their ground, and killed them abundance of men at first. But they were afterwards obliged to give way before the new forces that poured continually out of the city. Marcus, in despair to see their flight, made head with an handful of troops, and sustained the whole weight of the enemy's attack. The Volsci in consequence, of whom he made a dreadful slaughter, gave way in their turn, and regained their walls. Marcus pursued them with the utmost vigour, calling to his comrades that fled to resume courage and return to the charge. The latter, ashamed of their fear, rallied as he bade them, joined him, and taking advantage of the enemy's disorder, completed their defeat. They all together entered pell-mell into the city with the Volsci,

Volsci, which was obliged to surrender at discretion, and was plundered by the soldiers.

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Marcus, insatiable of glory; as soon as the place was reduced, flew with a small number of chosen troops to the Consul's army. It was the custom of the Romans, when they were upon the point of giving battle, to make their * wills without writing any thing, by only nominating their heir before three or four witnesses. Marcus, on his arrival, found Cominius's soldiers so employed, and the two armies ready to engage. He informed him of the taking of Corioli, which news spread joy and ardour through the Consul's troops, and terror and dejection through those of the Antiates. As soon as the charge was sounded, Marcus attacked the enemy with the small body of troops under his command, and at the first shock bore down all that were so bold to face him. Having opened himself a way by this successful attack to the main body of the Antiates, he spread terror and disorder throughout their army, and wherever he turned, none daring to stand his charge, he broke and penetrated their ranks. The enemy made a feint to surround him in vain: all fled at his approach, and none ventured to attack him except retreating and at distance. The Consul, who on his side had also pushed the Antiates with great vigour, but who feared that Marcus would at length fall under the multitude of darts that the enemy continually poured upon him, detached a body of chosen troops, and commanded them to march in close order, and to charge where the enemy made most resistance. Those brave Romans found no difficulty in opening themselves a passage to Marcus, whom they found covered all over with wounds, and surrounded with a great number of dying men, whom he had laid at his feet. The courage of that brave officer revived at the sight of that reinforcement, and he went on breaking the enemy wherever they continued to make head. Some he obliged to fly, others fell under his

* This was called Testamentum in procinctu facere.

A. R. 261. sword, and the rest he drove before him like slaves.
 Ant. C. None distinguished themselves more in this battle,
 491. than those who were sent to support Marcius. But the
 bravery of that generous Roman obscured that of all
 others, and it was allowed that the victory was owing
 to him.

The glory acquired by Marcius in this war effaced that of the Consul Postumus in such a manner, that but for a treaty engraved upon a pillar of brass, posterity would not have known, that Postumus had ever made war against the Volsci. However, which is very extraordinary and estimable in a General of an army, the Consul conceived no jealousy on that account. The day after the battle, at the head of the whole army, he gave Marcius the greatest praises, and in reward of his valour and the considerable services which he had done in both actions, he crowned him with his own hands, and to that mark of honour added other rewards highly capable of soothing the victor. He made him a present of a War-horse richly caparisoned, and adorned with all the ornaments usually worn by that of the General. He gave him the choice of ten prisoners, with permission to take ten of each of the different species that composed the spoils. The justice which Postumus did Marcius, was attended with universal applause, a glorious testimony both of the Consul's equity, and the young victor's merit. Marcius came forwards, and after having returned Postumus and the troops his thanks for their good-will, and declared, that he would not abuse it, he accepted only the horse and one of the prisoners, who was his friend. The soldiers, who already knew the greatness of his mind, were more charmed than ever with his disinterestedness and modesty, and conceived the virtue with which he refused such valuable rewards undoubtedly preferable to that which had rendered him worthy of them. They conferred another honour upon him, that he could not refuse. To perpetuate in his person the remembrance of the double victory he had acquired, they surnamed him Coriolanus, a name which he ever after

after retained with the esteem and admiration of his citizens.

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Is it very common in a profession, which seems to breathe nothing but glory, to find Generals of armies, who in some measure renounce it in respect to themselves, in order to pay homage to superior merit in the person of a simple officer? What comparison is there between this truly heroic greatness of soul, in my opinion much more estimable than victory itself, and the meanness of those to whom all merit but their own gives umbrage, and who have no view but to obscure and suppress it, to the utmost of their power? I am surprised and sorry, that Livy has ran over the taking of Corioli, and the great exploits of its conqueror, so slightly.

The defeat of the Antiates obliged the rest of the Volsci to solicit the amity of the Roman People, and caused those who were making preparations for a war with them, to lay down their arms. Postumus treated them favourably, and as soon as he returned to Rome, disbanded his army.

At the same time the treaty of peace with the Latines was renewed, which had been refused till now. The Romans were induced to come into it through gratitude for the concern that People had expressed first on account of the division, then of the reconciliation of the Senate and People, and lastly, for the considerable aid they had lately given them in the war newly terminated. This new treaty was conceived in terms, that seem very remarkable to me. "That the peace between the Romans and all the Latine States, shall subsist as long as the heavens and the earth. That neither People should ever make war against the other: that they should never call in foreign enemies: that they should never give passage through their territories to the enemies of each other: that they should mutually assist each other with all their forces in the wars, that either should have to sustain: that the spoils taken from the enemy, when they fought with joint forces, should be equally divided between them: That the

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Ant. C.
491.

the differences which should arise between particulars in respect to private contracts, should be terminated at the Tribunal of that People, in whose dominions such contracts were made: That nothing should be either added to, or retrenched from, the conditions of this treaty, without the unanimous consent of all the Romans and all the Latines: That both People shall swear by all that is most sacred to them, to observe religiously all the articles of this treaty.

The Senate, on their side, decreed public sacrifices and thanksgivings to the Gods for the good success of their reconciliation with the People. They also added a third day to the festival called *Feriæ Latinæ*, which before continued but two days. The *Ædiles*, of whose creation we have spoke above, presided in the sacrifices and games which were celebrated during this festival.

Some time after the celebration of this festival died *Menenius Agrippa*, that illustrious Senator, who had been Consul, had defeated the Sabines, and had obtained the honour of a triumph by his victory. It was by his counsels and authority, that the Senate consented to the return of the People, and the People laid down their arms and re-united with the Senate. With * all this merit and all these glorious titles, he died poor, and did not leave enough to defray the expences of his funeral. The Public supplied that charge. The Tribunes having assembled the People, harangued them in praise of *Menenius*. They related all the great things he had done both in war and peace: they extolled his excellent qualities to the skies; his disinterestedness, frugality, probity, contempt of riches, extreme abhorrence of usury, and the cruel gains derived from the blood of the unfortunate; and they concluded with representing, that it would be exceedingly shameful, if so great a man were deprived after his death of the honours he deserved, for want of hav-

* *Huic interpreti arbitroque concordiae civium, legato patrum ad plebem, reductori plebis Romanæ in urbem, sumptus funeri defuit.*
LIV.

ing left wherewithal to defray the expences of his funeral. Every † individual laid a tax upon himself with joy, which amounted to a considerable sum. The Senate, prompted by a noble jealousy, considered as an indignity to the State, that a man of such merit should be interred by the alms of private persons, and judged, that it was but just that the expence should be defrayed out of the public treasury. An order for that purpose was immediately given the Quæstors, who spared nothing, that could give the funeral pomp of Menenius all the splendor and magnificence worthy his rank and virtue. The People, piqued in their turn with a generous emulation, absolutely refused to take back the money they had given, which the Quæstors would have returned. They made a present of it to the children of Menenius, that their poverty might not oblige them to engage in professions unworthy of the rank and glory of their father.

Is it in the Reader's power not to admire all we have just related? What a lustre does poverty especially reflect in this place, in the midst of this fine train of virtues and glorious actions, that attract the praises, and occasion the regret, of an whole people! Have riches, in their most glaring magnificence, any-thing that comes near it?

At the same time, the Consuls made the Census (or muster) of the Roman People, who amounted to above an hundred and ten thousand men: this was the seventh.

T. GEGANIUS.

A. R. 262.

P. MINUCIUS.

Ant. C.

490.

Under these Consuls, whilst all things were quiet both at home and abroad, Rome was afflicted with a great famine, of which the retreat of the People to the Sacred Mountain was the cause. That retreat began about the autumnal equinox, the time when people begin to sow, and did not end till the winter sol-

Dionys.

l. 7. p. 417.

418, 433.

Liv. l. 2.

c. 34.

† Extulit eum plebs sextantibus collatis in capita. Liv.

A. R. 262.
Ant. C.
491.

flice : during all which interval the lands lay uncultivated, and without being sown ; and that occasioned a great scarcity of provisions. The Senate, to remedy that evil, which it ought timely to have foreseen and prevented, sent into Hetruria, Campania, the country of the Volsci, and even into Sicily, to purchase as much corn as they could. The deputies who went to Sicily, having met with a rude storm, did not arrive till very late at Syracuse, where they were obliged to pass the winter. At Cumæ, the Tyrant Aristodemus kept the money, which had been paid him for the purchase of corn, and the deputies thought themselves too happy in being able to escape with their lives. The Volsci, far from assisting the Romans, prepared to march against them : but a dreadful plague that suddenly happened, prevented them. It raged so violently, that at Velitræ, one of their principal cities, only the tenth part of the inhabitants escaped it. They had recourse to the Romans, who, forgetting the enmity of the Volsci, and being besides well satisfied to rid Rome of some part of its citizens, sent thither a numerous Colony, who did not go without reluctance to a city, where the pestilence had lately made such ravages. They sent also one for the same reason to Norba, a considerable city in the country of the Latines. The deputies succeeded only in Hetruria, where they purchased a great quantity of grain, which they sent in barks to Rome. This supply served the city for some time : but an excessive dearth soon ensued.

The famine rekindled the flames of discord. The Tribunes of the People, and still more Sicinius and Junius, who were then Ædiles, incessantly held seditious discourses against the Senate. The more to exasperate the poor, whom their misery already inclined too much to rage, they affirmed, “ That the rich had provisions in their houses which they carefully concealed : that with the aid of their money, they had engrossed all that had been brought into the city : that with those helps it was easy for them to preserve themselves from hunger, whilst the poor, who had no such reserves,

suf-

suffered all the rigour of it. They even went so far as to affirm, that the only view in sending a Colony amongst the Volsci, was to expose it unavoidably to the plague in a contagious country.

A. R. 262.
Ant. C.
490.

Every thing was in tumult and disorder. The Consuls summoned an assembly of the People, to undeceive them in respect to the bad impressions which had been unjustly given them against the Senate. But the Tribunes interrupting their discourse without any respect for their dignity, excited so violent a tumult, that it was impossible to comprehend what either side was for saying. The Consuls pretended, that the Tribunes had no power to treat directly with the People, and that their functions extended no farther than the right of opposition. The latter maintained on their side, that every thing which was decided before the People, was their business, and that it was as much their right to speak in these assemblies, as that of the Consuls to speak in the Senate, where they presided. The dispute grew extremely hot, when Junius, who was only Ædile this year, demanded permission of the Consuls to speak, promising to appease the sedition. The Consuls believing they had carried their point, because the Plebeian orator addressed himself to them, without regard to the Tribunes who were present, made no difficulty to give him leave to explain himself. A profound silence ensued, and Junius, without any farther introduction, said to the Consuls; "Have you forgot, that at the time when we laboured in concert a reconciliation between the two orders of the Commonwealth, that no Patrician interrupted those who were charged with the People's interests, and that this was in effect of an express agreement; that both sides might give their reasons with the greater order and tranquillity?" "I very well remember it," replied Geganius. "Why then," continued Junius, "do you interrupt our Tribunes now, whose persons are sacred, and who are the magistrates of the public?" "We interrupt them with justice," said Geganius, "because as we ourselves called the assembly

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A. R. 262. “ according to the privilege of our office, the right
 Ant. C. “ of speaking belongs to us.” The Consul added too
 490, precipitately, and without foreseeing the consequence of his words, “ that, if the Tribunes had summoned
 “ the assembly, he would have been so far from in-
 “ terrupting them, that he would not so much as
 “ have come to hear them.”

Junius no sooner heard those last words, than he cried out in a transport of joy : “ Plebeians, you have
 “ conquered. And as for you, Tribunes, give place
 “ to the Consuls. Let them harangue as much as
 “ they please to-day. To-morrow I’ll shew you the
 “ dignity and power of your office.”

It was now necessary to dismiss the assembly, upon account of the night which had come on during these disputes. The next morning the Tribunes with the principal Plebeians repaired to the Forum at break of day, and immediately took possession of the temple of Vulcan, where those who were for haranguing usually placed themselves. An innumerable crowd of people soon filled the place. The Tribune Icilius spoke. After having declaimed warmly against the Patricians, he represented, that the office of Tribune would become useless, if the Tribunes were not empowered to assemble the People, in order to represent to them what was for their interest. He concluded with demanding, that they might be authorized by a new law to summon assemblies ; and that to interrupt and disturb them in the exercise of their office, should be prohibited under great penalties. The People cried out with one voice, that he should propose it himself. He had prepared it during the night, in concert with his Colleagues, and had it ready. It was conceived in these terms : “ In the assemblies of the People held by the Tribunes, let no one contradict or interrupt them. If any one infringes this law, he shall give security to the Tribunes to appear before them when cited, and to pay the fine in which he shall be condemned. Whoever shall refuse to do this, let him be put to death, and let his fortune be consecrated to the
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the Gods. If any disputes arise concerning the fine, the People shall decide them." The law was accepted by the unanimous suffrages of the People; and the Senate, after a long resistance, were at length obliged to consent to it.

A. R. 262.
Ant. C.
490.

The different degrees of power acquired by the People are worth observing as they occur. The institution of the Tribunes, granted on the Sacred mountain in consequence of the reconciliation of the two orders of the Commonwealth, was the basis and foundation of that authority, which rose to such an height in process of time. The law, by which the persons of those magistrates were declared sacred and inviolable, was of great weight to them. They however had hitherto no other rights than to interpose in favour of the People, when their interests were affected. But the new law, of which we now speak, gave a greater extent to their functions than the meer power of opposition, with which they were invested on the Sacred mountain. This law expressly impowered them to call and preside in assemblies: nor did they confine themselves to that.

These feuds, however warm they were, did not rise on either side to positive violence, as is usual enough in the like divisions. The poor made no irruptions into the houses of the rich, to plunder the provisions they believed concealed there. They did not seize such by violence, as they saw exposed to sale: but were patient with the little nourishment they bought at a very dear rate; and when their money was gone, they lived upon herbs and roots, and sustained hunger without murmuring, or at least without proceeding to any excesses. The rich on their side committed no violence against the miserable; and without abusing the power, which they had over an infinity of their creatures who were at their disposal, to remove or punish the mutinous, they behaved like good fathers, who overlook and dissemble their knowledge of the faults of their children. Thus, notwithstanding their secret faults,

they

A.R. 262. they observed a moderation on both sides, of which
 Ant. C. civil dissensions do not seem susceptible.
 490.

The Consuls, in this conjuncture, made the Senate pass a decree for levying troops, and taking the field with an army. The apparent pretext was to oppose the enemy, who made frequent incursions into the lands of the Commonwealth; but they were also in hopes of other advantages. In setting an army on foot, the great number of inhabitants that they drew out of Rome, made it more easy for those who remained to subsist during the scarcity; and as those who were to serve abroad, were to live in the enemy's lands, they would have plenty without being a burden to their country. But the Consuls did not find the citizens much disposed to list; and they were unwilling to have recourse to the rigour of the laws for obliging them to serve. They contented themselves therefore with some Patricians, who offered to march as volunteers; and were followed by their clients, and a small number of the People. Coriolanus (for so I shall call Marius for the future) had the command of this little army, which advancing to Antium, besides a great quantity of corn that it seized in the field, made a great booty of slaves and cattle. Some time after it returned to Rome, laden with provisions of all sorts, and gave so much envy to those who had remained there, that they murmured against the Tribunes, for having dissuaded them from an expedition, that might have relieved their misery.

The time of the assemblies for the election of Consuls approached; and Coriolanus intended to demand that dignity. His extraordinary success in all his campaigns, had exceedingly exalted his hopes, and had acquired him abundance of creatures entirely devoted to his service. The People were generally inclined in his favour. They would have thought it gross injustice to reject a person, distinguished like him by his birth, and still more by his merit, and to dishonour him so publicly, especially after the great services he had

had done his country; and expressed that disposition clearly enough. Coriolanus in consequence assured himself of being elected Consul, and had omitted none of the formalities usually observed by those who stood for offices. Upon the day of election he repaired to the Forum with the utmost splendor, conducted by the whole Senate, and surrounded by all the Patricians, who had never expressed so much passion and zeal for any candidate. That pomp and great favour instantly changed the sentiments of the People, and turned their esteem and good will into jealousy and hatred. Add to this the fear they conceived of making themselves a formidable adversary, in conferring the supreme authority upon a man so zealous for the party of the nobility, and at the same time in such high credit. For these considerations, the People rejected Coriolanus, and chose M. Minucius and A. Sempronius Consuls.

We see here, almost as early as the beginning of the Commonwealth, a sensible proof of all that Cicero says of the character of the assemblies of the Roman People, and it is necessary to apprise the reader of it in good time. There is * nothing, says that orator, so delicate, so capricious, so flexible, and so susceptible of change as the disposition of the citizens in respect to candidates. As there are tempests which may be foreseen by certain prognostics, and others that arise suddenly without any apparent reason, and from obscure and unknown causes: there are also storms, which arise in the assemblies of the People; of which we sometimes see clearly the occasion, but the cause of them is frequently so obscure, that they seem merely

* Nihil est tam molle, tam tenerum, tam aut fragile aut flexibile, quam voluntas erga nos sensusque civium. Pro MIL. n. 42.

Ut tempestates sæpe certo aliquo signo commoventur, sæpe improviso, nullâ ex certâ ratione, obscura aliqua ex causa excitantur: sic in hac comitiorum tempestate populari, sæpe intelligas quo signo commota sit; sæpe ita obscura est, ut casu excitata esse videatur—Dies intermissus unus, aut nox interposita, sæpe perturbat omnia; & totam opinionem parva nonnunquam commutat aura rumoris. Pro MURÆN. n. 35, 36.

A.R. 262. the effect of chance. The space of a day or night
 Ant. C. frequently disconcerts all measures; the slightest rumour, a breath, often entirely changes the opinion of the People. Without any apparent reason, things take a turn wholly unexpected, and such as the People themselves are as much amazed at, as if it had not been their own doing.

Coriolanus made a mortifying experience of this levity and inconstancy of the Roman People, of whose suffrages he had at first assured himself as certain and infallible. We have observed, that he had not the amiable qualities of moderation, complacency, and patience, so necessary to the public man, which are the fruits of education and reflection. This refusal enraged him to a degree not to be expressed. He gave a loose to complaints and reproaches, without observing any measures. To one nurtured till then in the midst of praises and applauses, the ignominy of being rejected was the more affecting. He did not reflect, that the Roman People, jealous to excess of their liberty, pretended to be absolute masters of their suffrages, and to give them to whom they pleased, without being obliged to render any account why they did so. The citizens who embarked on this tempestuous sea, were to expect high winds and tempests, to support the caprice and levity of the People with moderation, to use their utmost endeavours to bring over such as were not in their interest, to retain the favour of such as were, and to conciliate those who declared openly against them. Those indeed who had no regard for honours might spare themselves all these pains: but as soon as they aspired to them, and set up as candidates for offices, it was necessary to undergo all these disagreeable cares, and laborious application. And this was what the haughty spirit of Coriolanus could not digest.

A.R. 263.

M. MINUCIUS.

Ant. C.

AUL. SEMPRONIUS.

489.

Dionys.

l. 7. P. 433

—472.

The preceding Consulship had been attended with great troubles; and that which begins now will be more

more tempestuous. The Consuls were scarce entered upon office, when advice came, that the Deputies were returned from Sicily with fifty thousand * Medimni of corn, half of which they had purchased at a very low price, and the rest was a present from the King † of Syracuse, who had even paid for the freight of it. When it was known at Rome, that ships laden with corn were arrived from Sicily, the Patricians were a long time deliberating upon the method to be observed in the distribution of it. The most reasonable amongst them, and such as were most inclined in favour of the People were of opinion, that the king's present of corn should be given gratis to the poor citizens; and that the rest, which had been bought with the public money, should be sold at a very moderate price: that this was a certain means for appeasing the People, and for reconciling them by marks of benevolence to the nobility and the rich. But others, more proud and more averse to popular government, were for treating the Plebeians with the utmost rigour, and for having the Patricians sell the corn very dear, in order to teach them against their will to be more docile, and more obedient to the laws.

Coriolanus, the declared enemy of the Tribunitian power, of which only the name and idea put him into a fury, distinguished himself above all the rest by his violent and seditious discourse, crying out with a loud voice, that the time was come for abolishing the office of Tribunes for ever, and for re-establishing the Commonwealth in its first state. "If they are for having provisions on the antient foot," said he, "let them restore the Senate its antient rights. Shall we suffer a new Plebeian magistracy, instituted to subject us? Become almost a vile slave, shall I see a Sici-nius over my head, in whose presence I must bow down and crouch to the earth? Is he then better

* The Greeks called a measure Medimnus, according to Budæus, that contained fifty bushel.

† This was the famous Gelo, whom the Syracusans made King for having defeated the Carthaginians.

A. R. 263. " than Tarquin, whose pride we could not hear ? Let
 Ant. C. " him retreat : let him draw the populace after him :
 489. " let him go and settle upon the Sacred mountain, or
 " on any other hill he likes best. No body hinders
 " him : the ways are open. The populace cry fa-
 " mine ; they lament, they despair. They well de-
 " serve it. Let them enjoy the fruits of their revolt :
 " let them feel the evils of which themselves were the
 " cause, by leaving our lands uncultivated. Nothing
 " but suffering can reduce them to reason and their
 " duty."

The People were in the highest fury, when they heard the discourse of Coriolanus repeated : for the Tribunes had been sent for by the Senate, and had been present at the deliberation. " We are now," cried they, " to be attacked with famine like enemies. The corn of Sicily, the only resource that fortune offered us, is refused us. The bread is to be taken out of our mouths, unless we give up our Tribunes tied hand and foot to Coriolanus. Either death or slavery are the only choice this new Tyrant leaves us." The multitude in their rage wanted but little of forcing the gates, and entering the Senate. But the Tribunes contenting themselves with laying the whole blame upon Coriolanus, sent to demand him, in order to his defending himself before the People. When they saw that their Lictors were driven away with violence, they went in person, attended by the Ædiles, to fetch him by force, and meeting with him as he came out of the Senate, the Ædiles prepared to seize him. The Patricians ran to his aid, kept off the Tribunes, and even struck some of their officers. Night put an end to this disorder, and separated them.

From that day ensued on both sides abundance of assemblies, deliberations, and violent harangues, especially on that of the People. Sicinius, one of the Tribunes, after the sharpest invectives, pronounced sentence of death against Coriolanus, as the decree of himself and his Colleagues, by way of punishment for
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the insult committed in the persons of the *Ædiles*; and he was for having him immediately thrown from the Tarpeian rock. But the Tribunes, after many vain attempts, confined themselves to citing Coriolanus to take his trial before the People. Coriolanus received that proposal at first with his usual air of haughtiness and contempt, and did not seem in much pain about it, affirming, that the Tribunes had no power by their office, but for the defence of the People, and not to attack others, and that consequently they had no right to summon a Senator to a trial. And indeed the attempt was without example, and might have terrible consequences. The Senate was perfectly aware of them; and contrary to the opinion of some of their body, always averse to moderate measures, they thought it necessary to try the method of favour and reconciliation. The first thing they resolved, was to set a very moderate price upon the provisions, with design to mollify the multitude. The second was, to prevail upon the Tribunes to desist, at the request of the Senate, from proceeding against Coriolanus; or, if that could not be effected, at least to obtain delays from them, in order to give the People time to cool. The decree concerning the sale of corn was passed, and received with general satisfaction. It was conceived in these terms: "That all things necessary to life should be sold at as low prices as before the troubles." But the Tribunes could not be persuaded to drop their prosecution of Coriolanus. The only favour they would grant, was to defer the trial as long as the Consuls should desire it.

A circumstance that happened at this time, supplied them with an occasion of suspending the affair. Those of the deputies who had been sent to Sicily, and were bringing to Rome the King's present of corn to the Roman people, were taken by pirates of Antium. They seized the ships laden with provisions, which were in harbour at some distance from their territory, carried them home, put the deputies in prison, and made prize of all their money. The Consuls, upon this news, sent

A.R. 263. deputies to the Antiates; and upon their refusal to
 Ant. C. make satisfaction, resolved to take it sword in hand.
 489.

A strong army was raised, and the Senate passed a decree for suspending all juridical proceedings public and private, whilst the troops should continue in the field. But that time was shorter than expected. The Antiates, informed that the Romans were marching against them with all their forces, humbly requested peace, and sent home the prisoners with all the corn and money they had taken. Thus the campaign was soon over, and the army returned to Rome.

As soon as the troops were dismissed, Sicinius, then Tribune of the People for the second time, called an assembly, and assigned Coriolanus a day for his appearance. The Consuls, after having consulted the Senate, did not judge it proper to abandon a matter of that consequence to the decision of the People; and pretended that it had been a custom from immemorial time to propose affairs first in the Senate, and afterwards to lay them before the People: a custom, which even the Kings had strictly observed. That after the Tribunes had proposed their grievances, the Senate would determine as usual, whether the People ought to take cognizance of this accusation. The Tribune Junius, the same haranguer who had so great a share in the last troubles, made his colleagues consent at first to the proposal of the Consuls: but the next day, upon more mature reflection, being sent for by the Senate, he represented strongly, that the People could not be refused what they demanded on this occasion without manifest injustice. He pretended, "That in virtue of the law Valeria, which permitted appealing from the decrees of the Patrician magistrates to the judgment of the People, they had a right to summon Coriolanus directly before their tribunal, without having occasion for any decree of the Senate. He insisted very much upon the equality of the power and authority, which ought to subsist between the Senate and People, as equally forming the two parts of the state." "The People," continued he, "have
 " had

“ had the honour of sustaining bloody wars in con-
 “ junction with you, and it is with their aid that you
 “ have terminated them successfully. You are ob-
 “ liged to them for not being subjected to the yoke
 “ of any other People, and for the power of giving
 “ the law to all your neighbours. It is therefore but
 “ just that the equality between you and us should
 “ be well established. Now in what manner is this
 “ equality, which is no more than our natural Right,
 “ to be attained, if the fear of trials is not employed
 “ as a barrier against all persons whatsoever who should
 “ presume to make attempts against our lives and li-
 “ berties? We do not dispute the first rank, nor the
 “ splendor of the magistracy, with you: nor do we
 “ envy those amongst you the marks of honour upon
 “ whom fortune and their valour have conferred them.
 “ But all of us, as citizens, have the same right not
 “ to suffer outrages and insults with impunity. As
 “ much therefore as we are disposed to yield you all
 “ the splendor of your prerogatives, so much are we
 “ resolved to support our equality with you in all that
 “ relates to natural right. If any of us had happened
 “ to speak of your order with the fury Coriolanus
 “ vented against ours, what had been your resent-
 “ ment! He has ventured to say publicly, and in
 “ the face of the whole city, that it was necessary to
 “ abolish for ever the Tribunitian power, the asylum
 “ of the People, the bulwark of liberty, and the
 “ pledge of our peace and re-union; and that the
 “ time was come for letting loose your wrath against
 “ the People, in crushing them by misery and famine.
 “ And you are for having us suffer such an insolence
 “ to pass with impunity; and that it should not be in
 “ our power, without your permission, to try so cri-
 “ minal a citizen, because he is one of your body!”

When Junius had spoke to this effect, and his col-
 leagues had added what they thought fit, the Senate be-
 gan to give their opinions. Appius was one of the first
 that spoke, which he did with his usual vehemence.

“ I should have been glad to have been deceived in my

A. R. 263.
 Ant. C.
 489.

A. R. 263. “ conjectures,” said he, “ as I have often prayed the
 Ant. C. “ Gods I might, when I foresaw that you would find
 489. “ neither honour, equity, nor advantage, in the re-
 “ turn of our revoltors. And accordingly, as often
 “ as that affair was brought into deliberation, I was
 “ always both the first to oppose that peace, and the
 “ last that persisted in my opinion, even when I saw
 “ myself abandoned by every body. You now see,
 “ Fathers, that my suspicions and fears were but too
 “ well founded, and that your favours have been at-
 “ tended only with the hatred and enmity of those up-
 “ on whom you conferred them. Not contented with
 “ having obtained the remittance of their debts, and a
 “ general amnesty of their revolt, they extorted the
 “ office of Tribunes from you; under pretence of
 “ moderating your power, and of having protectors
 “ against the violence of the Great, but in reality to
 “ subvert the foundations of the Commonwealth, and
 “ to transfer the government of the state from us to
 “ the People: a mortal wound to your authority, at
 “ which we shall long, very long, bleed. And now
 “ behold another, I venture to say more dangerous than
 “ the first, which they are preparing to give you, in
 “ seeming to attack only Coriolanus. Though there
 “ were nothing more in question, than the particular
 “ interests of a Senator, so distinguished by his birth,
 “ valour, and great actions, honour would oblige us
 “ all to expose ourselves for preventing one of our body
 “ from appearing before the People, who in regard to
 “ him would be accusers, witnesses, and judges, as
 “ well as arbiters of the punishment consequential of
 “ their sentence. And indeed, to consent to such an
 “ enormity, were to carry a man to execution, not to
 “ a trial according to the rules of justice. But other
 “ far more important interests are now at stake. Your-
 “ selves, Fathers, your authority, your whole body
 “ are now struck at. They pretend to have a right
 “ to try every Senator independently of you. And
 “ upon what do they found this pretension? Why up-
 “ on the law Valeria, wherein there is not a single word
 “ to

“ to that purpose ; and which has no other intent,
 “ than to contribute to the ease of the Plebeian fami-
 “ lies, by permitting them to appeal from the judg-
 “ ments of the magistrates to those of the People.
 “ If such a pretension be suffered to take place, (which
 “ may the Gods forbid) I repeat it, Fathers, there is
 “ an end of the Senate. Remember, that hitherto
 “ your condescensions and easiness have ruined every
 “ thing, and be assured that you will never obtain
 “ any thing from the People but by inflexible fe-
 “ verity.”

A. R. 263.
 Ant. C.
 489.

This discourse of Appius was differently received, according to the diversity of opinions that divided the Senate : but it appeared in general too violent with respect to the present conjuncture. When he had done, Manius Valerius rose up to speak : he was, as we have already seen, the most moderate and popular of all the Senators. He highly praised those who feared nothing so much as rekindling dangerous quarrels for light causes, and who preferred concord and good understanding to every other interest. He added, “ That in leaving the People the liberty of trying, and the Senate giving them that mark of their goodwill, the affair perhaps would go no farther : that contented with seeing themselves masters of the fate of Coriolanus, they would treat him with more favour than rigour. That if the Tribunes urged their prosecution to the utmost, and would observe all the usual formalities, the decision would at least depend on the suffrages of the People : that then the People could not fail of acquitting Coriolanus, either out of respect for his person, whose merit and great actions they well knew, or in gratitude to the Senate, who had complied with their instances, and granted them this new power. However, he exhorted the Consuls, Senators, and all the Patricians, to be present at the trial, and to intreat the People not to act with severity : that their presence would be of infinite weight towards preserving the life of the accused.” But he addressed himself to Coriolanus with most force, and joining remonstrances

A. R. 263.
Ant. C.
498.

monstrances with exhortations, and prayers with authority, he did his utmost to induce his compliance. "He conjured him, as he was accused of being the cause of the feuds, which had arose between the People and Senate, as his natural loftiness was interpreted a secret propensity to tyranny, and as an open rupture was apprehended on his account, with all the misfortunes that attend civil wars, not to confirm the ideas conceived of him, by too much obstinacy, and the inflexibility of his disposition. He represented to him, that it was much better to assume more gentle and moderate sentiments, to appear as an accused person, and abandon himself to the discretion of those who made complaints against him, and to justify himself against the calumnies laid to his charge. He implored him in the name of the Gods and his country, that he would add to his many other excellent qualities a little more mildness and condescension, in order to prevent the fatal effects of civil dissensions, of which he drew a lively and pathetic picture, which he accompanied with tears."

Seeing the Senate much moved, he continued to speak with still greater confidence as follows. "Suffer me, Fathers, to open my heart to you, and to explain freely what I have long thought. If there be any means in our power, either for continuing the Commonwealth in its present flourishing condition, or for preserving unity and concord amongst us, which I consider as its life and soul; I know nothing that can conduce so much to those desirable ends, as admitting the People into the administration of affairs, and so to temper the government thereby, that neither the Patricians nor Plebeians may engross all authority, but dividing it with each other, that both may concur to the common good. When only one of the two orders has the sovereign power in their hands, it may easily escape them, and be carried to excess. But if, by a wise and just mixture, that power be divided between them, the least abuse of it, the least innovation, and depar-
ture

“ ture from discipline, committed by the one, will be
 “ opposed by the other, more faithful and determi-
 “ nate to obviate such faults, and to support order in
 “ all its force. A small number of persons of worth
 “ suffice for subverting the tyrannical power of one
 “ man, when it degenerates into pride and cruelty, as
 “ we have happily experienced. In a State governed
 “ as the Commonwealth now is, by a certain choice of
 “ distinguished persons, if those in office, corrupted
 “ by luxury and opulence, should go so far as to de-
 “ spise justice and the other virtues, it is the business
 “ of a wise people to reform them, and to frustrate
 “ their pernicious views. And when the people on
 “ their side forget themselves, and from the due
 “ bounds of submission proceed to licence and disorder,
 “ it is incumbent on the great persons of the State
 “ to reduce them by force to their duty. It is this
 “ balance, this division of power, that constitutes the
 “ safety of a State. If I apprehend that the spirit of
 “ tyranny may introduce itself into the Senate, it is
 “ not with respect to the present time : it is not you,
 “ Fathers, that I have in view, who have shewn your-
 “ selves the enemies of tyrants in their destruction.
 “ But, when I consider who may come after us, and
 “ reflect on the unhappy changes time may induce, I
 “ cannot dissemble my concern, and the fear I am in,
 “ that the Senate, become too powerful in process of
 “ time, should change the form of the State, and de-
 “ ceiving the people by specious artifices, re-establish
 “ the authority of a single person.

“ In admitting the people to share in the govern-
 “ ment of the Commonwealth, you obviate these in-
 “ conveniences. A man whose ambition should make
 “ him desire to exalt himself above all others, and
 “ who, to succeed therein, should form a faction in
 “ the Senate, ready to undertake any thing for his
 “ service ; (I beg you will not be offended at such a
 “ supposition ; when we have the public good in view,
 “ it is allowable to suppose any thing) such a man,
 “ however high his credit might be, would find op-
 “

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 489.

“ posers

A. R. 263. “ posers in the Tribunes, who would have good rea-
 Ant. C. “ son to summon him to a trial, and to oblige him to
 489. “ give an account of his conduct before a whole peo-
 “ ple, though of a rank and condition much inferior
 “ to his own; and if he were found guilty of any
 “ treason, he would be subject as well as others to the
 “ punishment his crime should deserve. But lest the
 “ people, invested with so great a power, should grow
 “ licentious in the use of it, and seduced by bad ad-
 “ visers, should render themselves formidable to the
 “ nobility, (for the small are no less susceptible of ty-
 “ ranny than the great) to repel their insolence, and
 “ reduce them to their duty, in such conjunctures, a
 “ Dictator of known prudence and zeal might be
 “ created, whose absolute and unlimited power might
 “ put a stop to the evil in its birth. This plan of go-
 “ vernment, as long as a wise balance is preserved be-
 “ tween the two parties, that compose it, will constitute
 “ the happiness and strength of Rome; and is what
 “ now induces me to desire, that you will grant the
 “ People the power they demand of trying Marcius.”

Coriolanus seeing all the Senators, except a very small number, give into the opinion of Valerius, and that the Senate was upon the point of passing their decree, demanded, as they were determined contrary to his expectation to give him up to the People, that the Tribunes might be ordered to declare of what crime they accused him, and upon what head they pretended to proceed against him. After having conferred together, they answered that they accused him of having affected the tyranny, and that he was to justify himself as to that point. “ If to refute that pretended crime
 “ be all, replied Coriolanus, I abandon myself to the
 “ judgment of the People, and do not oppose the
 “ decree of the Senate.” That decree was immediately passed: but, according to custom, the accused was granted a suspension till the third market-day, for preparing his apology.

Those markets, amongst the Romans, were held every ninth day. On those days the inhabitants of the country

country came to the city to sell their goods, and to terminate the differences they had with each other. They also gave their voices at the same time upon all that was brought before the People ; whether contests were to be decided, laws instituted, or magistrates chosen. The space of three market-days, which included twenty-seven days complete, was always allowed, before any thing was decided concerning any affair, in order that no body might be ignorant of the matter in deliberation. This was an indispensable formality, with respect to the validity of all that was done by the authority of the People.

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Ant. C.
489.

When the Tribunes had received the decree of the Senate, they repaired to the Forum, where, after having assembled the People, they read it, and gave it great praises. They afterwards assigned Coriolanus a day for making his defence, and for the decision of his cause.

When that day arrived, great numbers of the inhabitants of the country poured into the city, and took possession of the Forum at day-break. The expectation of both parties was equally great, each side considering the success of this affair, as the blow which was to determine their safety and liberty. The Patricians earnestly demanded, that the assembly of the People should be held by centuries, in which they were sure of the plurality of voices, for reasons which have been given above : but the Tribunes having represented, that in an affair, wherein the rights of the People, and the liberty of the public were concerned, it was but just that all the citizens, without regard to rank or riches, should have an equal right to give their suffrages, they carried also this point, and prevailed, that the assemblies should be held by tribes, in which all conditions being confounded, the advantage was manifestly on the side of the Plebeians and the poor, who always made the majority in them. It was upon occasion of the trial of Coriolanus, that the Roman People gave their voices by tribes for the first time.

Before

A. R. 263.
Ant. C.
489.

Before the cause came on, the Consul Minucius first ascended the Tribunal, and spoke in the name of the whole Senate. "After having enumerated all the favours the Patricians had heaped upon the People, insisted much upon the advantages of peace and unity, and strongly recommended to take the counsel in so important an affair of those whom they knew to be persons of honour and probity, and truly affected to their country; he concluded with exhorting them not to condemn Coriolanus, to acquit him in consideration of his great merit, and to remember the prodigies of valour and bravery which he had shewn on so many occasions for the defence of the dominion and liberty of the Roman People. He represented to them, that it did not consist either with their justice or wisdom to confine themselves to some vain words, which might have escaped him in the heat of discourse, and to forget the acknowledgment they owed him for so many glorious exploits. That they had one great motive for piquing themselves on their generosity in respect to him, as he had submitted himself to the discretion of his enemies, and consented to stand the award of their judgment. That if, always implacable in their anger and hatred, they refused to be reconciled to him, they would have some regard at least for the Senate, who earnestly demanded their grace for Coriolanus. That they would suffer themselves to be moved by the entreaties of three hundred of the principal citizens of Rome, who made his interest their own in the strictest manner: and that, if they would not acquit him as innocent, they would at least grant so great a number of illustrious suppliants their pardon for a single criminal. He concluded with putting the Tribunes in mind not to alledge any crime against Marcius, but that of aspiring at the tyranny, according to their engagement before the Senate."

After the Consul quitted the tribunal, Sicinius, the principal Tribune, who had prepared his speech long before, made a long detail of all that Coriolanus had either said or done to prevent the lessening the price of

of corn, and for abolishing the office of Tribune, under
pretence of the relation of those words and facts to the
crime of tyranny.

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Coriolanus now prepared to speak. He went back to his earliest youth, and began with a long enumeration of the campaigns he had served for the defence of the Commonwealth, the crowns he had received from the hands of the generals, the prisoners he had taken from the enemy, the citizens he had saved in battle; and called to witness the captains under whom he had served, and those who owed him their lives, each by their names, for they were present, and gave evidence for him with laments and groans. But when he proceeded to tear off his robes, and shew the honourable wounds he had received before, and asked the Tribunes whether those were the proofs of the crime of which they accused him, and of actions that tended to the tyranny; almost all that were present were moved even to tears.

The Tribunes, who perceived that their criminal was upon the point of escaping out of their hands, changed their attack, and laid a new crime to his charge; this was his not having delivered into the public treasury, as the law directed, the spoils which he had taken in the country of the Antiates, but having divided them amongst his soldiers, in order to make himself creatures, to be employed upon occasion for his pernicious designs, according to the custom of usurpers, whose largesses are their usual methods for the attainment of the tyranny.

This new accusation perplexed Coriolanus, who did not expect it, and therefore made but a bad reply; and it occasioned a great change in the minds of the multitude, always fluctuating, and accustomed to abandon themselves blindly to the slightest impressions. The Tribunes passed sentence of perpetual banishment against the accused: it was the custom for them to pronounce their judgments first. Their opinion was afterward referred to the deliberation of the Tribes; which were twenty-one in number. Nine of them
voted

A. R. 263. voted for acquitting Coriolanus, and the other twelve
 Ant. C. for condemning him.
 489.

When the sentence was passed, the people were more rejoiced, and conceived greater pride and haughtiness, than from all the battles they had ever gained, believing that they had entirely reduced the power of the Patricians by this blow: but the Senate was so much afflicted and confounded at it, that they could not hold up their heads, and perceived then the irreparable fault they had committed; complaining highly of Valerius, whose advice was considered as a criminal timidity, that had betrayed the interests of his order, and rendered the People the absolute arbiters of the fate of the principal citizens.

Coriolanus was conducted home amidst the tears and lamentations of his friends, whom so terrible a stroke had quite overwhelmed with grief. As for himself, far from complaining of his disgrace, far from being softened with the tears he occasioned, or from shewing the least sign of weakness, he appeared more undaunted, and greater than ever. The sight of his wife and mother, who tore their habits, beat their breasts, and filled the whole house with their cries, at the moment of the most affecting separation, neither staggered his courage, nor abated his constancy. He contented himself with speaking kindly to them, and exhorting them to bear their misfortune with patience. He recommended his children to their care, of whom the one was ten years old, and the other still at the breast; and without giving his family any other marks of his tenderness, or carrying any thing with him into banishment, he went to the gates of the city, attended by a small number of clients, who would not leave him, and said nothing to any body of the place he had pitched upon for his retreat.

Coriolanus was cotemporary with Themistocles, whose fate was almost the same. * For both, after

* *Uterque, cum civis egregius fuisset, populi ingrati pulsus injuria, se ad hostes contulit, conatumque iracundiæ suæ morte sedavit. Cic. in Brut. n. 42.*

having rendered their country important services, were condemned to banishment by the injustice of an ungrateful people, and retired into banishment amongst the enemy, where they died.

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We have already seen two mortal wounds given the authority of the Senate; the institution of Tribunes, and the power of trying the Senators granted to the People. Whatever augmentation the power of the People received from thence, was so much lost to that of the Patricians: and the latter were more to be blamed on that account, as it was by their own fault that change happened. Most of them, especially the youngest, were full of contempt for the Plebeians, whom they considered as the dregs of the Commonwealth, incapable of entering into the administration of affairs, unworthy of filling any place of importance, and whom, for that reason, they were for keeping perpetually in a state of meanness and servitude. Was there any equity, or even prudence, in this conduct? Were the Patricians a different species of men from the Plebeians? Was there not often as solid merit of every kind to be found amongst the latter as amongst the former? Did they not form a part of the State, and infinitely the most numerous, as well as them? Would it not have consisted with the wisdom of the Patricians to have divided the advantages of the government with those, who supported as well as themselves, and much more than them, both its expences and dangers? The People will obtain by degrees and successively all the dignities of the State; but it will always be in a manner at the point of the sword, and after long conflicts. What may be said in excuse of the Senate, is, that the opinions of the wisest were not always followed: an inconvenience common enough in great bodies. It is, however, remarkable, that notwithstanding this haughtiness, which is in a manner natural to the Nobility, violent counsels seldom or ever took place in the Senate; and that, though they did not give way without great repugnance, they chose at least, when the danger was urgent, rather to abandon

their rights, than to perpetuate divisions, or excite a civil war.

Some few days after the departure of Coriolanus, the election of Consuls came on, when the People elected

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Ant. C.

488.

Q. SULPITIUS CAMERINUS.

SP. LARGIUS FLAVUS II.

Dion. l. 7.

p. 472—

480. & l.

8. p. 480,

530.

Liv. l. 2.

c. 35—40.

Plut. in

Coriol. p.

224, 233.

Coriolanus left Rome full of hatred and fury against his country, and meditating a signal vengeance against it. He retired with this view to Antium amongst the Volsci, to solicit them to take arms, knowing them to be powerful in troops and money, and conceiving rightly, that the blows they had received in the last war had not so much diminished their forces, as excited their jealousy, and augmented their animosity. The bitter complaints and violent menaces which he was often heard to vent against Rome, occasioned the Volsci to place an entire confidence in him, which augmented every day. He lodged at the house of Attius Tullus, a person of the highest credit in his country, as well for his birth as his riches, authority, and the merit of his great actions. Their common hatred of Rome easily extinguished the personal enmity which had long subsisted between them, and even soon united them in a firm friendship. Tullus was for losing no time, and for marching to Rome with all the forces of the Volsci, whilst the sedition was still on foot, and the city had none but weak chiefs at the head of it. Coriolanus did not believe it necessary to be so hasty. The Volsci had lost abundance of people in the preceding war, not to mention the ravages lately made by the plague in their country; and there was reason to fear, that they could not easily be induced to resume their arms, after their ill success. Besides which, there was a suspension of arms between the Romans and them, and a truce of two years confirmed by a treaty, which it was to be wished that the Romans should be the first to break. The means for this Coriolanus supplied, which Tullus highly approved,

proved, and which succeeded effectually, as we are going to shew.

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Rome was preparing to celebrate the Great Games over again, upon account of a very singular event, which I shall relate as I find it in my Authors, though I am far from being willing to answer for the truth of it. In the morning of the day on which they had been represented, the master of a slave had made him cross the Circus in a very mournful equipage, having caused him to be whipt through it with rods severely; and immediately after the games began. After some days were elapsed, Jupiter Capitolinus, say our authors, appeared in the night to an old Plebeian, named Atinius, and ordered him to go to the Consuls, and tell them, that Jupiter was not satisfied with the person who led the dance in the last games: that they should give him another dancer, and begin the festival again: and that otherwise it would be the worse for them. The good man, when he waked, despised this dream, as one of those phantoms of the night, to which no regard was to be had, and was afraid to go to the magistrates with a story that might make him ridiculous. His disobedience cost him dear: his son died suddenly, without having been sick. The next night, Jupiter appeared to him again, and asked him, how he liked his contempt of the order of the Gods; and added, that if he persisted in his disobedience, something still worse would befall him. The menace was terrible. However, as he still delayed, himself was suddenly struck with the palsy, which deprived him of the use of all his members. He could now defer it no longer. He caused himself to be carried in a chair to the Senate, where he related all that had happened. He had no sooner done speaking, than the use of his limbs was restored. Jupiter ought also in justice to have restored him his son.

Every body knows how high the credulity and superstition of the Romans rose. They did not doubt but that the slave, whose pain had made him make such terrible contorsions a moment before the solemnity

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nity began, was the bad Dancer, who had displeased Jupiter. The master who had treated his slave so unmercifully was sought for; and after he had been punished as he deserved, the Senate, by an express decree, appointed new games in honour of the same God; and in order to make them the more magnificent, expended twice as much money upon them, as had been employed in the first.

C. JUNIUS.

P. PINARIUS.

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These games were celebrated in the Consulship of Junius and Pinarius, immediately after their entering upon office. All the youth of the Volsci, at the desire of Tullus, repaired from their several cities to Rome, and their numbers were so great, that abundance of them were obliged to retire into the sacred and public places, private houses not sufficing to contain them. They were seen walking about the city in large troops, so that people began to conceive suspicions of some bad design. In the mean time a person of confidence, suborned by Tullus to inform the Consuls as he was instructed, acquitted himself of his commission, and went to them, pretending to have a secret of importance to discover. After having made them engage by oath to observe inviolable secrecy, he declared to them, that the Volsci had conspired to attack them during the games, and to set fire to the city. The Consuls did not doubt the truth of his report. Without losing time they assembled the Senate, who were no less credulous; and an order was instantly given for all the Volsci to quit the city before night, upon pain of death. It was necessary to comply without reply or delay.

Tullus, who had left it with the first, stopt on purpose at a certain place; where, after having gathered about him a great number of the Volsci, whom he found in the highest indignation, and breathing nothing but revenge: "Are you sensible, said he, of the igno-

"miny with which you have just been treated? What!

"in

“ in the face of all the strangers, all the neighbouring
 “ states, and so numerous an assembly, do they shame-
 “ fully drive you out of Rome, like impious and pro-
 “ fane wretches, whose presence would have polluted
 “ the solemnity of the games ! A day’s delay would
 “ have cost us our lives, for which we are indebted
 “ to our immediate departure, if it may not rather be
 “ called shameful and infamous flight. So gross an
 “ affront is an open declaration of war, to the great
 “ misfortune of those who have made it, if you are
 “ men of courage.” Full of resentment before of
 themselves, and still exasperated more by this discourse
 of Tullus, each returned to his own home, carrying
 with them a warm desire of revenge, which they easily
 communicated to all that heard the account of what
 had passed. The general assembly of the Volsci was
 called immediately after, and a war with the Romans,
 as the first infractors of the treaty, unanimously re-
 solved. The command of the troops was given to
 Tullus and Coriolanus.

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Whilst preparations were making for the war, Co-
 riolanus, to lose no time, took with him the most re-
 solute of the Volsci, and made a sudden irruption into
 the country of the Romans, before they suspected
 any such attempt. He made great spoils there ;
 but whilst he ravaged the whole country, he gave or-
 ders for sparing the lands of the nobility ; which very
 much augmented the dissension between the Patricians
 and People, as he had rightly foreseen. After that
 expedition, which infinitely exalted the courage of the
 Volsci, and made them despise their enemies, Coriola-
 nus led back his troops, without having lost a single
 man.

When the Volsci had assembled all their forces,
 they were divided into two bodies ; the one for the
 defence of the country, and the other to act against
 the Romans. Tullus, who had the choice of them,
 left the command of the latter to Coriolanus, on whose
 merit every body greatly relied. And he did not de-

A. R. 265. receive the hopes they had entertained of him *: which
 Ant. C. shews that the force of Rome consisted more in the
 487. ability of her generals, than in the number of her
 troops. Coriolanus marched first against the city of
 Circeii, a Roman colony, which surrendering at dis-
 cretion, was not plundered. From thence he march-
 ed to ravage the country of the Latines, in hopes that
 the Romans would move to give him battle, in defence
 of their allies. But as the Consuls had only a very
 short time to continue in office, they were unwilling
 to hazard any thing: so that Coriolanus besieged and
 took several of the strongest places.

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SP. NAUTIUS.

SEX. FURIUS.

Coriolanus advanced with his troops towards Rome, and encamped at the Fossa Cluilia, about forty † fur-
 longs from Rome. His approach struck Rome with
 alarm and dread. The women were seen running to
 and fro about the streets in despair, and the temples
 were filled with disconsolate old men imploring the aid
 of the Gods. ‡ The People seldom esteem true merit,
 whilst they possess it. Full of disdain and contempt
 for this illustrious person, we have seen with what
 haughtiness they treated him in respect to his trial: and
 now behold the same people reduced to appear and
 crouch like suppliants before him, not finding any
 other resource but in his clemency, to which they are
 determined recourse shall be had at all events. This
 was not the Senate's opinion. They had decreed, that
 no treaty or peace with the Volsci should be mention-
 ed, till they were retired out of the territory of Rome:
 but on this occasion they were not masters. At the

* Ut appareret ducibus validiorem quam exercitu rem Romanam
 esse. Liv. l. 2. c. 39.

† At five miles from Rome, according to Livy; which is much the
 same distance. A mile, as Plutarch tells us, in Gracc. p. 838, con-
 tained very near eight stadia. So that forty stadia were something
 less than two leagues.

‡ Fastidiosus ille in aestimandis bonis suis populus, qui reo non
 pepercerat, exuli coactus est supplicare, VAL. MAX. l. 5. c. 4.

warm and pressing instances of the People they could not avoid sending ambassadors to Coriolanus, to offer to recal him, and to implore him to put an end to the war. Though they were all either his relations or friends, he received them with extraordinary haughtiness and distance, and for his whole answer declared to them, " That if the Romans desired to treat of peace, they should begin by restoring to the Volsci all the places and lands they had taken from them during the preceding wars, and by granting them the freedom of Rome, as they had done the Latines * : that otherwise he would make them sensible, that banishment, far from depressing, had only exalted his courage." Upon their returning a second time to implore him to moderate his resentment, he did not deign to give them the hearing.

Rome was then in great consternation, but, however, did not lose all hope. A new deputation was sent to him, composed of the Pontiffs, Augurs, and Priests, in their robes of ceremony, and in some measure carrying the majesty of the Gods along with them. But he treated them with as little regard.

In this sad extremity, the Roman ladies assembled at the house of Veturia, the mother of Coriolanus. They knew the tender respect that generous Roman had always borne his mother : a fine example for young persons ! Plutarch observes, that he distinguished himself more from those of his age in this point, than by his valour and great actions. Instead of proposing glory to himself like others as the end of his exploits, Coriolanus referred glory itself to another end, which was the satisfaction and delight of his mother. That she might hear him praised, that she might see him adorned with a crown as the reward due to his valour, that she might embrace him victorious, shedding tears of joy, these made him in his sense the most happy and the most glorious of mankind. The Roman ladies believed therefore, that Rome had still a resource left in the mother of that

* Admisurum ut appareat exilio sibi irritatos non fractos animos esse,

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486.

haughty exile. * Veturia did not refuse herself to her country, and attended by * Volumnia, the wife of Coriolanus, and the two boys she had by him, of whom one was an infant in her arms, she went to the camp of the enemy, followed by a great number of other ladies. † The women in this manner undertook to defend a city by their prayers and tears, which the men were no longer able to defend by force of arms.

‡ At the approach of those ladies, before who they were could be distinguished, Coriolanus, whom neither the majesty of an august embassy, nor respect for religion and the priesthood, had been capable of moving, believed himself much better proof against the tears of a troop of women. But upon being told by one of his officers, that he thought he perceived his mother, wife, and children advancing towards him, he threw himself from his tribunal, and ran, almost out of his senses, and full of trouble and anguish, to embrace his mother. That truly Roman lady, employing anger instead of prayers, and pushing back her son with her hand: "Stay, said she to him with a look and tone of resentment, let me know before I receive your embraces, whether it is to a son or an

* Plutarch calls Coriolanus's mother Volumnia, and his wife Virgilia.

† Et, quam armis viri defendere urbem non possent, mulieres precibus lacrymisque defenderunt.

‡ Ubi ad castra ventum est, nuntiatumque Coriolano adesse ingens mulierum agmen, in primo, ut qui nec publica majestate in legatis, nec in sacerdotibus tanta offensa oculis animoque religione motus esset, multo obstinatior adversus lacrymas muliebres erat. Dein familiarium quidem, qui insignem moestitia inter ceteras cognoverat Veturiam, inter nurum nepoteique stantem: Nisi me frustrantur, inquit, oculi, mater tibi conjuxque & liberi adsunt. Coriolanus prope ut amens, consternatus, ab sede sua cum ferrat matri obviam complexum, mulier in iram ex precibus versa: "Sine, priusquam complexum accipio, sciam, inquit, ad hostem, an ad filium venerim: captiva materne in castris tuis sum? In hoc me longa vita & infelix senectus traxit, ut exulem te, deinde hostem viderem? Potuisti populari hanc terram, quae te genuit atque aluit? Non tibi, quamvis infesto animo & minaci perveneras, ingredienti fines ira cecidit? Non, cum in conspectu Roma fuit, succurrit, Intra illa moenia domus ac penates mei sunt, mater, conjux, liberique? Ergo, ego nisi peperissem, Roma non oppugnaretur? Nisi filium haberem libera in libera patria mortua essem? Sed ego nihil jam pati, nec tibi turpius quam mihi miserrime possum; nec, ut sim miserrima, diu futura sum. De his videris; quos, si pergis, aut immatura mors, aut longa, servitus manet." Liv. c. 40.

"enemy

“ enemy that I speak ; and whether you regard me as
 “ your mother, or your captive ? Was it for this that
 “ my unhappy age was reserved ? Have I lived so
 “ long, only first to see you banished, and then the
 “ enemy of your country ? Have you been capable
 “ of ravaging the land that gave you birth, and
 “ brought you up in its bosom ? How violent soever
 “ thy desire of revenge might be, whatever resent-
 “ ment thou mightest have, did not the sight of these
 “ plains disarm thy rage ? and when Rome appeared
 “ before thy eyes, didst thou not think with thyself,
 “ Those walls which I am going to attack inclose all
 “ that is dearest to me in the world, my house, my
 “ household Gods, my mother, my wife, and chil-
 “ dren ? Had I then not been a mother, Rome had
 “ not been besieged. Had I not had a son, I had
 “ died free in my free country. But I can suffer
 “ nothing now, that is not more shameful for you,
 “ than miserable for me ; neither will my misery,
 “ however great, be of long continuance. Be these
 “ infants then your care ; who, if you persist, are to
 “ suffer either an untimely death, or a long slavery.”

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This discourse of Veturia was followed with the
 laments and groans of all the Roman ladies, who de-
 plored their own and their country's misfortune. Co-
 riolanus could not withstand the reproaches of a mo-
 ther, for whom he had always had so much respect
 and tenderness. He embraced her, and cried out in
 her arms : “ Oh ! mother, you have gained a cruel
 “ victory, that will soon prove fatal to me.”

So tender a regard for a mother is highly estima-
 ble : but he ought to have remembered that he owed
 still more regard to his country. And yet with what
 obduracy he received it in the persons of the embas-
 sadors ! and with what contempt did he treat religion
 itself in the Pontiffs who represented it ! He did not
 know the different degrees of duties according to the
 law * of nature, which gives the first rank to the Di-

* Sunt gradus officiorum, ex quibus quod cuique præstet intelligi
 possit : ut prima Diis immortalibus, secunda patriæ, tertia parentibus,
 deinceps gradatim reliquis debeantur. Offic. 1. n. 160.

A.R. 266. vinity, the next to our country; after which comes
 Ant. C. that to fathers and mothers.
 486.

Coriolanus, after having spoke in this manner to Veturia, decamped. A treaty was concluded between the Romans and Volsci, and Rome was delivered from the danger. Authors do not agree concerning what became of Coriolanus after the siege. Some believe, that after his return to Antium with the army, Tullus, who was become jealous of his glory and too great authority, caused him to be killed in a popular commotion: others say he died in a different manner. Livy seems to adhere to the opinion of the antient historian Fabius Pictor, who makes him live to a very great age, and repeats a famous saying of his, "That banishment was a miserable thing, but much more so to an old man."

Multomi-
 ferius seni
 exilium
 esse.

He was equally regretted both by the Volsci and Romans, with whom his memory was ever after in great honour. The Roman ladies, in particular, shewed as much concern and grief, as it was customary to express when they lost their nearest relations. They quitted their gold and purple, and other ornaments, and wore a general mourning for an whole year.

The men were not jealous of the glory the ladies had acquired by delivering their country from so great a danger. The Senate, in conjunction with the People, decreed, that a temple should be erected to Female Fortune, (*Fortunæ muliebri*) to preserve the remembrance of so singular an event by a public monument. It was built upon the road called Via Latina, at five miles from Rome, that is to say, in the place where Coriolanus's mother had disarmed him by her remonstrances. This temple was finished and dedicated the year following. Only the women had a right to enter it, and offer their prayers and sacrifices to the Goddesses.

Dionys.
 Hal.

We have seen Coriolanus, with many excellent qualities, end his life in a very miserable manner. Few Romans had more merit than him. He was above the pleasures that engross youth. He loved justice,
 not

not from the necessity which the laws impose, or through fear of punishments, but out of inclination, and an happy propensity which seemed born with him. He did not esteem innocence as a virtue, so great was his horror for vice, and his zeal to inspire others with an aversion for it. Never had son more respect and complaisance for his mother than him. Becoming an orphan by the death of his father, he believed that he owed Veturia the same proportion of tenderness and respect, as he should have owed his father, had he lived. He was liberal and magnificent, and never suffered his friends to languish in indigence. He had a wonderful and incomparable talent for war, and but for the obstacles which he met with from the seditious, the Roman power, under his conduct, would have acquired great augmentations.

A prevailing fault, which he had not taken care to correct in his youth, lost him the fruit and merit of so many fine qualities. He wanted complacency and condescension. He had not that graceful carriage, those engaging manners, which prejudice people in a person's favour, and win the heart. His disposition was rough, and hard to reconcile, when once offended. Incapable of moderation in his resentment, he carried his anger to the most vicious extremities. In a word, he wanted that address and wise flexibility which gives way to the necessity of affairs, and adapts itself to the difference of characters, with which a man has to deal. Always sullen and untractable, he vented his ill humour without distinction, and without respect to persons. Nothing hurt him more in the field than a genius so unfit for society. His excessive rigour for supporting the laws and discipline, that never admitted any medium, his too literal attachment to what he believed equitable, which rose to an inflexible obstinacy, contributed more than any thing to irritate the People, and give them an aversion for him. Young persons of quality should learn from this example, how important it is to get the better of, and to subdue,

A. R. 265.
Ant. C.
486.

A. R. 266. due, what is called humour or temper : for this was
 Ant. C. the reigning vice of Coriolanus.
 486.

This vice led him on by imperceptible degrees to that which of all excesses is the most horrid, and has the most fatal consequences : this was to take arms against his country *. Other crimes are limited in their effects, and often extend no farther than one, or at most a small number of persons. But this, extinguishing in the heart all natural tenderness for the country that gave us birth, turns its fury against an whole city, an whole nation, carrying along with it ravages, fire and sword, murders, violations, and the most dreadful sacrileges. And this is what Coriolanus prepared for his country. It had indeed treated him unworthily, in repaying the important services he had done it by banishment. But did he not know †, that it is with our country, as with our fathers and mothers, from whom children ought to suffer the worst treatment with patience ‡; and that there never can be a just cause for taking arms against it. He was of the number of those Cicero § speaks of, who believe it their duty, and are ready to sacrifice their lives and fortunes for their country ; but would not suffer the least affront, or injury to their reputation for it. This is false delicacy, a mistaken love of glory. Great men do not think in this manner ; of whom the Roman History will supply us with many examples.

* In aliis maleficiis ad singulos aut ad paucos ex alieno peccato injuria pervenit : hujus sceleris qui sunt affines, uno consilio universis civibus atrocissimas calamitates machinantur. Ad HEREN. l. 4. n. 12.

† Ut parentum sævitiam, sic patriæ, patiundo ac ferendo leniendam esse. Liv. l. 27. c. 34.

‡ Præsertim cùm omnino nulla causa justa cuiquam esse possit contra patriam arma capiendi. PHILIP. 2. n. 53.

§ Inventi autem multi sunt, qui non modò pecuniam, sed vitam etiam profundere pro patria parati essent ; iisdem gloriæ jacturam ne minimam quidem facere vellent. Offic. 1. n. 84.

C H A P. II.

Sp. Cassius the Consul endeavours to usurp the sovereignty. He is accused before the People, condemned to die, and executed. Dissensions between the Tribunes and Consuls concerning the Agrarian law. Considerable, but bloody victory gained over the Hetrurians. Unhappy defeat of the Fabii near Cremera. Menenius is fined: Servilius acquitted. Genucius the Tribune excites new troubles: he is found dead in his bed. Violent troubles.

SOME days after the retreat of Coriolanus, the two Consuls took the field with a numerous army. But they soon returned to Rome, without having done any thing important, though the enemy had given them the most favourable occasion. A division had arose between the Æqui and Volsci in respect to the command; which rose so high, that they turned their arms against each other with such fury, that if it had not been towards the close of the day, they had cut each other entirely to pieces. They decamped the next morning, and retired home. The Consuls were very much blamed for not having pursued them.

T. SICINIUS.

C. AQUILLIUS.

A. R. 266.
Ant. C.
486.
Liv. l. 2.
c. 40.
Dion. Hal.
l. 8. p. 530
—547.

The Hernici and Volsci were defeated by these Consuls.

SP. CASSIUS III.

PROCLUS VIRGINIUS.

A. R. 267.
Ant. C.
485.

Virginus was sent against the Æqui. Having laid waste the country without any resistance, he marched back his troops to Rome.

The Volsci and Hernici, against whom Cassius marched, treated a peace and alliance with the Consul, whom the Senate had empowered to regulate the conditions.

Cassius,

A. R. 268.
Ant. C.
484.

Cassius, on his return to Rome, after having obtained the honour of a triumph, which he little deserved, by his intrigues carried his ambitious views still farther, and formed the design of attaining absolute power. He rightly discerned, that the surest method to succeed in it, was to gain the favour of the People. With that view he represented to the Senate, "that the People merited some reward for the services they had rendered the Commonwealth, for defending the public liberty, and subjecting new countries to the Roman power. That they could not be better acknowledged than by abandoning to them the lands acquired by their arms, and which appertained to the public, though the avarice of some Patricians had appropriated them to themselves. That such liberality would enable the poor Plebeians to bring up children for the benefit of the Commonwealth; and that only so equitable a distribution could establish that equality, which ought to subsist between the citizens of the same state." He associated in this privilege the Latines settled at Rome, who had obtained the freedom of the city.

This is* the first time the Agrarian Law is mentioned, that is to say, the law that ordained the distribution of lands amongst the People. We shall see in the sequel, that it occasioned great troubles in the Commonwealth; and was, in the hands of the Tribunes, a kind of combustible matter of division and discord, always ready to be set on fire. And indeed this law, which had a great appearance of equity in itself, must have pleased the People extremely, whose misery it relieved. When the Romans had gained any considerable advantage over their neighbours, they never granted them peace, till they had taken part of their territory from them, which was immediately incorporated with that of Rome. Part of these conquests were sold to indemnify the state for the expences of

* Tum primum lex Agraria promulgata est: nunquam deinde, usque ad hanc memoriam, sine maximis rerum motibus agitata. Liv. l. 2. n. 41.

the war. Another portion of them was distributed gratis amongst the poor Plebeians, who had no settlement of their own. Sometimes some cantons of them were farmed out for the benefit of the public. Rapacious Patricians, solely intent upon enriching themselves, took possession of part of those lands by methods, which we shall relate more particularly in the sequel. It was of these lands, unjustly usurped by the rich, that Cassius was for having a new distribution made in favour of the poor citizens.

This proposal very much alarmed the Senators: some, because they were personally interested in it, and others, because they apprehended its dangerous consequences. It soothed the People agreeably at first: but the associating of the Latines in the same advantage, soon disgusted them. Rabuleius, one of the Tribunes, having asked the Consul Virginius in the assembly, what he thought of the law in question; the latter replied, he would willingly consent that the lands should be distributed among the Roman People, provided the Latines had no share in them. That opinion pleased the People highly. Cassius saw himself thereby frustrated of his hopes: for his view was to bring those people into his interests, in order to attain his end by their means, and the aid he expected from them; besides which he perceived his credit greatly diminished with the populace. To regain their favour, he represented to the Senate that it was but just to reimburse out of the public treasury the money, which the poorer citizens had paid for the corn of which Gelo, King of Syracuse, had made the Commonwealth a present during the scarcity. Could one have believed it? That * proposal, which in all appearance could not but have been highly agreeable to the multitude, gave them offence; because that largess seemed the price with which Cassius was for purchasing the ty-

* Id vero haud secus, quam praesentem mercedem regni, aspernata plebes; adeo, propter suspicionem insitam regni velut abundarent omnia, munera ejus in animis hominum respuebantur. LIV.

A.R. 268. ranny, and in their misery they thought slavery still
 Ant. C. more insupportable than poverty.
 484.

The affair was however considered in the Senate. Appius made a long speech, in which he strongly opposed the Agrarian law, "remonstrating, that to support the People at the expence of the public, was to make them idle and slothful. He concluded that ten of the principal Senators should be chosen, who should be commissioned to visit the lands, and to take a view of their boundaries: and, if they found, that private persons had usurped any of them either by force or art, that they should oblige them to restore them to the Commonwealth: that part of those lands should be sold; that the rest should be farmed out for five years; and that the rents arising from them should be applied to the uses of the public. He added, that the People, when they saw the unjust possessors of those lands obliged to renounce them, and the revenues of them employed to just and necessary purposes, would have no farther room to complain."

When Appius had made an end of speaking, Aulus Sempronius Atratinus was desired to give his opinion. The latter, after having expatiated in praise of Appius, and come into his opinion concerning the choice of commissioners, continued: "That he thought it necessary, in the present conjuncture, to conciliate the People by distributing the lands in question, either in general amongst all the citizens, or only amongst those who had no land, or who had but a very small income. That as for the Latines, they ought not to have any share in a distribution of lands acquired long before the freedom of the city was granted them. And that it seemed proper to refer the whole execution of this affair to the next Consuls, the term of those actually in office being upon the point of expiring."

The advice of Sempronius was followed in every respect, and the Senate decreed in consequence: "That ten of the most antient Senators of Consular dignity should be appointed commissioners, who, after having taken an actual survey, should determine the quantity

tity of land which the Commonwealth might let, and that to be distributed amongst the citizens. That the creation of the ten commissioners, the distribution of the lands, and the other regulations in this affair, should be referred to the succeeding Consuls."

SERV. CORNELIVS.

A. R. 269.

Q. FABIVS.

Ant. C.

483.

The next year, when Quintus Fabius and Servius Cornelius were Consuls, Cæso Fabius, the Consul's brother, and L. Valerius Publicola, who were Quæstors at the same time, and who, in virtue of their office, had power to assemble the People, cited Sp. Cassius to give an account of his conduct before them. An infinite crowd of citizens flocked to the Forum on the day of his trial. The two Quæstors accused Cassius of having taken secret measures for opening himself an assured way to the sovereignty; of having provided arms, and received money from the Latines and Hernici; and of having made a very great party amongst the most robust of their youth, who were continually seen in his train. All these points were proved by the undeniable evidence of many of the citizens, and that of the confederate cities.

The People suffered themselves to be convinced by their discourse, and gave no attention to the studied answers of Cassius. They conceived such an indignation against him from that instant, that neither their consideration for three of his children, the grief of his relations and friends, who appeared in great numbers to support him, the remembrance of his great actions by which he had raised himself to the first dignities, nor three Consulships and two triumphs, which had rendered him very illustrious, could mollify their anger, nor delay his condemnation one moment; so unpardonable a crime with the Romans was the slightest suspicion of aspiring at regal power! They carried their resentment so far on this occasion, that without observing any measure or moderation in the quality of the punishment, they condemned the criminal to die.

A. R. 269. The People were afraid, that, if they contented themselves with banishing him, as he was one of the most able generals of his time, he might follow the example of Coriolanus, and by having recourse to the enemy, involve his country again in a bloody war. As soon as sentence was passed upon Cassius, the Quæstors carried him to the Tarpeian rock, which fronted the Forum, and threw him down from the top to the bottom in the presence of the whole people. This was the customary punishment for this crime amongst the Romans. The house of Cassius was demolished, and his estate sold by auction. With the money arising from it, a statue of brass was erected to Ceres. There are historians, who say, that his father, in consequence of the power of life and death, which fathers had at Rome over their children, condemned and put him to death. But the other account seems much the more probable.

Flor. l. 1. c. 26.

Dionys. l. 8. p. 547. After the death of Cassius, the faction of the Great became more powerful and haughty, and rose in its contempt for the Plebeians. The latter, on the contrary, lost courage, and having no longer the zealous defender of their interests, they reproached themselves with the condemnation of Cassius, as an imprudence, and even an injustice. The * charms of the Agrarian law, which was no longer counterpoised by odious suspicions, agreeably soothed their hopes. What also made an impression upon them, was the Consuls having neither executed the Senate's Decree for the distribution of the lands, nor the ten Commissioners being elected, who were to report to the Senate that part of the lands appertained to the People, and how much of them came to each man's share. They complained that the Senate did not act with sincerity, and accused the Tribunes of the preceding year, of having betrayed the interest of the People. Those who were then in office warmly demanded the execution of the decree.

* Dulcedo Agrariæ legis ipsa per se, dempto auctore, subibat animos. LIV. c. 42.

These disputes between the Senate and People, and between the Consuls and Tribunes, will make a great part of our history for the time to come. We shall see troubles in the city, and wars in the field, succeed each other as a kind of perpetual alternative. These little wars were the usual resource of the Consuls, who, to give the continual complaints of the People diversion, drew them out of Rome, with the view that their troops might find a subsistence at the expence of the enemy, which would make them forget their ancient pretensions. But these perpetual wars rendered them still more untractable, and peace, in men of such haughty courage, quickly revived the discord which war had only suspended. These mutual broils will frequently recur. I shall abridge the accounts of them as much as possible, and shall relate only what appears the most curious and important, avoiding a strict detail of little circumstances and facts almost always of the same kind, which could not but disgust the reader.

The Patricians were studious to keep up perpetually some difference with foreigners, in order that an occasion might never be wanting for some new expedition. The Veientes, Æqui, Volsci, and other neighbouring states, always supplied them with matter of this kind. The usual resource of the Tribunes was to oppose the levying of the armies: but after some resistance, they were at last forced to give way; and the fear lest the Senate should create a Dictator, whose power was absolute, kept them in awe, and obliged them to desist from their opposition.

The Patricians had also another great advantage over the Plebeians. They were generally superior in the assemblies held by centuries for the election of Consuls, and took great care, that none should be chosen but those who were zealous for the interests of the nobility, often without its being in the People's power to traverse their choice, as happened the following year. Fabius, who was actually Consul, having defeated the Æqui and Volsci, sold the spoils taken from

them, and laid up the whole money arising from them in the public treasury, without giving any part of it to the soldiers, which rendered the name of the Fabii very odious to the People.

Notwithstanding which, at the ensuing election, the Consuls were

A. R. 270.
Ant. C.
482.

L. ÆMILIUS.

CÆSO FABIVS.

The latter was one of Cassius's accusers.

The Æqui and Volsci were defeated by Æmilius.

The temple of Castor, vowed in the war with the Latines by the Dictator Postumius, was consecrated this year.

A. R. 271.
Ant. C.
481.

M. FABIVS.

L. VALERIUS.

The first was the brother of the two preceding Consuls of the same name, and the second one of Cassius's accusers. They endeavoured to make the levies for the war against the Veientes and Volsci. The Tribune Mænius opposed them, protesting that he would not suffer the Consuls to make any new levies till they had first of all created the ten Commissioners for the distribution of the lands. The Consuls, to extricate themselves out of this difficulty, had recourse to an expedient, which had never been employed before, and does not seem to me to have ever been repeated afterwards: this was to remove their Tribunal into the neighbouring country. They caused the citizens to be cited thither to list, who obeyed them no more than before: The Consuls fined such as refused, seized their cattle and plows, without its being in the power of the Tribunes to interfere, their jurisdiction not extending so far out of the city. This military execution reduced the People to return to their duty. The levies were made as usual: but this war had no consequences.

The Vestal Oppia was convicted of having broken her vow of chastity, and suffered the usual punishment.

Q. FABIUS II.

A. R. 272.

C. JULIUS.

Ant. C.

480.

War with the Æqui and Veientes.

Liv. l. 2.

CÆSO FABIUS II.

C. 43.

SP. FURIUS.

A. R. 273.

Ant. C.

479.

The Veientes and Æqui making incursions into the country of the Romans, the Consuls endeavoured to levy the troops to march against them. The Tribune Icilius, crying out that the time was now come for passing the Agrarian law, prevented the citizens from listening. The Senate were highly embarrassed with this opposition, and not knowing what to determine, Appius Claudius remonstrated, "That the only means to put a stop to the proceedings of Icilius, was to oppose him by the other Tribunes; the opposition only of one of them being an invincible obstacle, as he was authorized by the laws to put a stop to all deliberations against which he protested. That the Tribunitian power could be weakened only by itself. That of the five Tribunes there would always be some one or other to be found, who would be glad, either through pride, jealousy, or zeal for the public good, to oppose the enterprize of a colleague, and to join the well-disposed citizens. That no doubt several of these might be found, if necessary, but that one sufficed for rendering the endeavours of all the rest ineffectual. That therefore the best conduct of the Consuls and principal Senators would be to spare no pains to bring over some one of the Tribunes, and to attach him to the interests of the Senate and Commonwealth." This counsel appeared very wise, as it really was, and was immediately put in execution. Four of the Tribunes declared against Icilius, and prohibited any farther mention of the Agrarian law, till the war should be terminated.

Dionys.

l. 9. p. 559

—562.

Livy calls him Licinius.

The armies were immediately levied. Furius marched against the Veientes, who were afraid to face him, so that he made considerable spoils throughout

A. R. 273. their country, which he had leisure to ravage univer-
 Ant. C. 479. sally. The goodness which he shewed in dividing all
 the plunder amongst the soldiers, exceedingly aug-
 mented the People's affection for him. The campaign
 being at an end, he led back his troops with no dis-
 grace, and laden with spoils.

Cæso Fabius, the other Consul, had not the same
 good fortune, though he discharged with honour all
 the duties of an excellent captain. His troops even
 in battle shewed how odious the General that com-
 manded was to them. He had put the Æqui to flight
 only with his horse. The infantry refused to pursue
 them, through fear of contributing to his glory, in
 supplying him with matter for a triumph. Neither the
 exhortations of the Consul, the shame of so criminal a
 desertion, nor their own danger, in case the enemy
 should return to the attack, could induce them to
 march forwards, or so much as to continue where they
 were posted. They retired hastily, and in disorder to
 their camp, with sorrow in their countenances, as if
 they had been defeated, and venting imprecations
 sometimes against their General, and sometimes against
 the cavalry for having served him too well. The Con-
 sul had no thought of remedying so great an evil: so
 true it is, says Livy *, that great men, and such as
 excel in other respects, more frequently want address
 to govern their citizens, than talents to conquer ene-
 mies. He returned to Rome, with little glory, and
 more than ever the object of the hatred and curses of
 the soldiers. The Consulship continued however in
 the family of the Fabii.

A. R. 274.
 Ant. C.
 478.

M. FABIVS II.

CN. MANLIUS.

Dionys.

l. 9. p. 562

—570.

Liv. l. 2.

C. 44---47.

These Consuls had a rude war to sustain against the
 Veientes. The intestine discord which prevailed at
 Rome, gave the enemy hopes that it would be easy to

* Nec huic tam pestilenti exemplo remedia ulla ab imperatore quæ-
 sita sunt: adeo excellentibus ingeniis citius defuerit ars qua civem re-
 gant, quam quâ hostem superent. Liv. l. 2. c. 43.

reduce

reduce its power with no great efforts. The principal persons of Hetruria incessantly represented in all the assemblies, "That the division, of which the wisdom of the Senate, and patience of the People, had hitherto suspended the bad effects, was at length come to such an excess, that Rome might be said to form two cities entirely at variance with each other, of which each had its own laws and magistrates. That the rebellion had passed from the city into the camp, where it had put an end to all discipline. That in the last campaign, the Roman soldiery, even in the midst of a battle, had abandoned their General; and notwithstanding his remonstrances and orders retired into their camp, and resigned the victory to the Æqui, after they had been defeated. That with no great efforts, Rome might be reduced by its own forces. That it was only necessary to make a shew of war, and that fate and the Gods would do all the rest." These discourses and hopes had armed all Hetruria.

In the mean time Rome had not been asleep. The Consuls, according to Appius's advice, had taken care to engage some of the Tribunes in their interests, by an obliging and insinuating behaviour. By their means the levies were made with success as the year before, notwithstanding the opposition of the rest. The army in consequence was soon on foot. The Consuls set out each with two legions, which Rome alone had supplied, and an equal number of the troops of the allies. The Latines and Hernici, of their own free will, sent twice the number of troops that were asked of them. The Romans did not think proper to employ them, without doubt through a principle from which they rarely departed afterwards, which was not to admit a greater number of allies or strangers, than there were citizens in their armies. After having thanked those allies for their fidelity and zeal for the service of the Roman People with great marks of gratitude, they dismissed the surplus of the troops. A third body, consisting of two legions were formed out of the youngest soldiers, who had orders to en-

A. R. 274.
Ant. C.
478.

camp without the walls of Rome, for the defence of the country against any new and unexpected enemy. And lastly, those whom their age exempted from serving in the field, and who were still capable of bearing arms, remained in the city to guard it, in case of insult.

The Consuls marched to Veii at the head of their army, and encamped upon two hills at no great distance from each other. The enemy on their side had numerous troops, and were encamped before the city. All that were of any consideration in Hetruria had taken arms for this war. The very slaves had been lifted for it: so that the army of the Heturians was much more numerous than that of the Romans.

The superiority of the enemy's numbers did not perplex the Consuls, but they were anxious about the disposition of their own troops. The still recent remembrance of what had passed last campaign, kept them in great uneasiness. They therefore chose to continue in their camps, not to hazard a battle yet, and to protract the war as much as they could, in hopes that time and delay might mollify discontent, and bring back the soldiery to their duty. As the Romans passed many days in their camps without any motion, the boldest of the Heturians came up to the very gates to insult them. They called the soldiers women, and the generals cowards; challenging them, if they had any hearts, to come out and put their quarrel to the issue of a decisive battle: or if they had not courage to fight, to surrender their arms to the victors. They reflected upon the baseness of their origin, with which they said their conduct perfectly agreed.

These offensive reproaches, repeated every day with new insolence, gave the Consuls no pain, but stung the soldiers to the heart. They found themselves under two violent and quite different impulses of mind; the one indignation against the enemy, the other aversion for the Consuls and Senators. They could bear the outrageous insults of the Heturians no longer: but were at the same time unwilling to obtain a success
for

for the Patricians, that would crown them with glory. These two opinions divided and engrossed them alternately. At length hatred for the stranger got the better. They came in crowds to the Consuls' tents, demanded to fight, and earnestly desired that the signal might be given. The Consuls conferred together, as if they were uncertain how to act. They deliberated long. It was much their desire to engage, but it was necessary to conceal it, in order to excite that of the soldiers the more by the delay itself and seeming opposition. Their answer was, that they were too hasty in their demand: that it was not time to fight yet; and that they should keep within their camp. The Consuls declared, that whoever should fight without orders should be treated as an enemy. This feigned refusal only served to inflame the ardour of the soldiers the more. The enemy having been informed, that the Consuls had chosen not to fight, became more insolent, and advanced haughtily to the works, saying a thousand injurious things against cowards, who were afraid to shew themselves in the field, and wanted very little of proceeding to attack the camp. The soldiers could suffer no longer contempts so offensive. They ran from all sides to the Consuls, not in small parties as before, but almost all together, demanding with great cries to be led on to battle. The time was now come. However, some difficulty was still made. But Fabius at last, either through fear of letting that ardour cool, and come to nothing by a too long delay, or that the tumult might degenerate into a revolt, having caused silence to be made, addressed himself to his colleague as follows: "I know, Manlius, that these soldiers can conquer, but they themselves have reduced me to doubt whether they will or no. For this reason I am determined not to give the signal, till they have all sworn not to return from the battle, except victorious. They have once deceived the Consul: they will never deceive the Gods." Amongst those who demanded the battle most eagerly, was one Flavoleius, a Plebeian by birth, who worked for his living,

A. R. 274.
Ant. C.
478.

A. R. 274. living, but was generally esteemed for his bravery.
 Ant. C. 478. His merit had raised him to a distinguished post in one of the legions, in which he commanded as first captain, Primpilus. He had under him sixty centurions and their companies, that is to say, all the centurions of a legion, who were obliged by military law to take his orders and obey him. This Flavoleius advanced first, and swore thus to the Consul, holding up his sword drawn: "I engage, Fabius, never to return from battle except victorious. If I break my oath, may Jupiter, Mars, and the rest of the Gods cause me to perish in their anger." The whole army, by his example, swore the same.

The Consuls, full of confidence and joy after this oath, as if assured of victory, made the troops file off in good order, and drew them up in battle. The Hetrurians, surpris'd at this unexpected motion, made ready on their side, and advanced to meet the Romans.

The two armies faced each other, the trumpets sounded the charge, and the battle began. The horse and foot engaged at the same time on both sides. The slaughter was great, and the loss at first not unequal. The Romans on the right wing under the Consul Manlius pushed the enemy's left with vigour, and the horse dismounted and fought a great while on foot. The left wing of the Romans began to be surrounded by the Hetrurians, whose flanks extended farther on that side. They sustained themselves however, notwithstanding the inequality of their strength, and the wounds to which they were open on all sides. Quintius Fabius, who had been twice Consul, and commanded the left wing at that time in quality of the Consul's lieutenant, made a vigorous resistance, tho' covered all over with wounds; till receiving one from a lance, he fell without any sign of life. This news being carried to the Consul M. Fabius, who commanded the main body, he sent for Cæso Fabius his own brother; and taking with him the chosen battalions, he advanced beyond the right wing of the Hetrurians,

trurians, which had surrounded his own left. He charged it with impetuosity, beat down and killed all before him, and obliged the most remote to fly. He found there his brother, who was still alive, and raised him up with no other consolation than to receive his last breath. The soldiers, to avenge the death of so esteemed a general, threw themselves upon the Heturians where their ranks were thickest, and by the slaughter they made there, reinstated the left wing, and regained the advantage over those who had broke them.

A.R. 274.
Ant. C.
478.

Whilst this passed *, the right wing commanded by Manlius, improved continually its advantages against the Heturians. The enemy made but a faint resistance, and began to seek their safety only in their flight, when a javelin accidentally took Manlius at the knee, went through his thigh, and made him fall. He was immediately carried out of the press into the camp. The Heturians, who believed him dead, rallied and resumed courage. They were joined presently after by fresh troops, which augmented their confidence. They made the Romans give way in their turn, in the absence of their general. The Consul M. Fabius perceiving that disorder, quitted the left wing to go to the aid of the right with some squadrons of cavalry. He cried out to the troops, that his colleague was alive, and that as for himself he had put the left wing of the Heturians to the rout. The enemy who saw him advance with a considerable reinforcement, ceased to pursue those who fled, and drew up in order. Manlius returned at the same time, and placed himself again at the head of his troops. The sight of the two Consuls gave the Romans new courage. The battle grew hot again, and a great slaughter ensued on both sides.

At this instant a great detachment of the Heturians received orders to march to the Roman camp. They hastened thither with the greater joy, as they believed it ill-guarded ; and they were not deceived. Only the

* I have followed the sense rather than the words of Dionysius here.

A.R. 274. * Triarii had been left to defend it with a small body
 Ant. C. of other troops. The rest of the people in it were
 478. sutlers, servants, and workmen. The Heturians took it without difficulty. But whilst they were more intent upon the plunder than fighting, they left the Triarii, who could not sustain their first charge, time to give the Consuls advice of what passed in the camp; after which the Triarii renewed the fight of themselves with great vigour. Manlius flew immediately to their aid, entered the camp, planted guards at all the gates, and left the enemy no opening to retire through. Despair only made them fight with more fury. A body of the Heturians having fallen upon the Consul, whom they knew by the splendor of his arms, the Romans who surrounded him made a vigorous resistance at first, but could not long sustain so violent a charge. The Consul fell from his horse mortally wounded, and died in this action without being able to rise up, after having seen a great number of brave youth, who had signalized themselves in his defence, perish around him. The Heturians, encouraged by this unexpected success, resumed new vigour, whilst the alarm became general amongst the Romans; and they had been in danger of being entirely defeated, if the lieutenants, after having carried off the body of the Consul, had not opened one of the gates of the camp for the enemy. They all made off precipitately through that gate, but fell into the hands of the other Consul, who was come up to the aid of his colleague, and who cut almost all of them to pieces. Fabius returned victorious immediately to support those who fought in the plain, and completed the defeat of the enemy.

The Romans had never fought a more considerable battle, as well for the number of the combatants, as the length of the action, and the vicissitude of events. The army consisted of twenty thousand foot, the very flower of the Roman youth, and of twelve hundred

* The soldiers, who formed the third line of the Roman army, and were the oldest and bravest but least numerous of the troops, were so called.

horse; with an equal number of the troops of their colonies and allies. The battle began before noon, and did not end till sun-set. Victory was long in suspense between the two armies, and seemed only to declare for the Romans by the conduct of the Hetrurians, who decamped and retired the night following.

A. R. 274.
Ant. C.
478.

When the army returned, the People were for rewarding the Consul's victory with the honour of a triumph. But he did not believe it consistent with decency to appear in that pompous ceremony with a crown upon his head, in the midst of his brother's obsequies, and those of his colleague. † The refusal of a triumph did him more honour than any triumph could have done: so much does a proper neglect of glory sometimes exalt it.

He afterwards paid the last honours to the two illustrious dead, whose loss Rome lamented. He pronounced their funeral oration himself, and set the glorious actions of both in full light, without saying a word of his own. The just praises which he gave them, reflected partly upon him, and the more as he seemed to forget himself in them. In effect of the plan, which he had formed from the commencement of his Consulship, which was to reconcile the People with the Patricians, he distributed the wounded soldiers into the houses of the Senators, and most into those of the Fabii: and they were dressed no where else with so much care. From thenceforth the Fabii became popular, but by methods entirely legitimate and salutary to the Commonwealth. The Consulship in consequence continued still in that family, as much to the satisfaction of the People, as that of the Senate.

CÆSO FABIUS III.

T. VIRGINIUS.

A. R. 275.
Ant. C.
477.

Rome, under these Consuls, had several wars to sustain, less dangerous than troublesome, against the

Dion. l. 8.
P. 570—
583.

† *Omni acto triumpho depositus triumphus clarior fuit. Adeo, spreta in tempore gloria, interdum cumulator redit!* Liv.

Æqui,

A. R. 275.
Ant. C.
477.

Æqui, Volsci, and Veientes. To put a stop to the incursions of the last, it would have been necessary to have established a good garrison upon their frontiers to keep them in awe. But the Commonwealth, exhausted of money, and menaced by abundance of other enemies, was not in a condition to provide for so many different cares and expences. The family of the Fabii shewed a generosity on this occasion that has no example. They applied to the Senate, and by the mouth of the Consul, demanded as a favour, that they would be pleased to transfer the care and expences of the garrison necessary to oppose the enterprizes of the Veientes to their house, which required an assiduous rather than a numerous body, promising to support well the honour of the Roman People in that post. Every body was charmed with so noble and unheard of an offer, and it was accepted with great acknowledgment. The news immediately spread over the whole city, and nothing was talked of but the Fabii. Every body praised, every body admired and extolled them to the skies. “ If there were two more such
“ families in Rome, said they, the one might take
“ upon them the war against the Volsci, and the other
“ against the Æqui, whilst the Commonwealth re-
“ mained quiet, and the forces of particulars subdu-
“ ed the neighbouring states for it.”

Early the next day the Fabii set out, with the Consul at their head, robed in his coat of arms. Never was there so little numerous, and at the same time so illustrious an army seen : I speak here upon the authority of Livy. Three hundred and six soldiers, all Patricians and of the same family, of whom not one but might be judged worthy of commanding an army, marched against Veii full of courage and alacrity under a captain of their own name, Fabius. They were followed by a body of their friends and clients, animated with the same spirit and zeal, and actuated only by great and noble views. That troop amounted to about four thousand men. The whole city flocked to see so fine a sight, praised those generous soldiers to the skies,
and

and promised them Consulships, triumphs, and the most glorious rewards. As they passed before the Capitol and the other temples, every body implored the Gods to take them into their protection, to favour their departure and undertaking, and to afford them a speedy and happy return. But those vows were not heard.

A. R. 275.
Ant. C.
477.

When they arrived near the river Cremera, which is not far from Veii, they built a fort upon a very rough and steep mountain for the security of the troops, which they surrounded with a double fossé, and flanked with several towers. The Consul afterwards marched his troops into the country of the Veientes, where he took considerable spoils. This settlement, which prevented them from cultivating their lands, and ruined their commerce with strangers, incommoded them extremely. The enemy not daring to appear kept within their towns, or only quitted them by stealth.

L. ÆMILIUS II.

C. SERVILIUS.

A. R. 276.
Ant. C.
476.

The Veientes not finding themselves strong enough to ruin the fort which the Romans had erected, had recourse to the Heturians, who sent them very considerable aid. The Consul Æmilius was charged with this war: his colleague with that against the Volsci: and the * Proconsul Furius marched against the Æqui. The latter had a speedy success. Servilius by too much precipitation and confidence in charging the enemy was defeated. Æmilius, having found the army of the Veientes posted before Veii, and supported by the auxiliary troops of the whole nation of the Heturians, attacked them vigorously without loss of time, put them to flight with great slaughter, and took their camp, where he found sufficient spoils to reward and enrich his troops. The Veientes, wearied out with the evils they had suffered, sent deputies to Æmili-

† This is the first mention made of a Proconsul in the Roman history.

A. R. 267.
Ant. C.
476.

us to treat of peace. The Consul, having been empowered by the Senate to that effect, concluded a treaty immediately, without depriving them of the least part of their territory, without exacting any sum of money to make the Romans amends for the expences of the war, and even without obliging them to give hostages for their observance of their engagements. This excessive indulgence was ill received at Rome; and the Senate in consequence refused him the honour of a triumph. Enraged at this affront, he went over to the Plebeians, accusing the Senate of endeavouring to prolong the war, to avoid the distribution of lands, which they had been so long made to expect in vain; and as if he had been absolute master, he dismissed the troops upon his own authority, and had no thoughts but of keeping up the division between the People and Senate. In the mean time the Fabii continued in their fort.

A. R. 277.
Ant. C.
475.

C. HORATIUS.

T. MENENIUS.

The other eleven States of the Hetrurians, who had not been consulted by the Veientes concerning the treaty of which we have just spoke, assembled, and made it a crime in the latter to have concluded a peace with the Romans without their participation. The war therefore began again. The dissension, which was again set on foot concerning the levy of troops, occasioned a delay of preparations. During this interval, the Fabii, encouraged by the great success of their incursions into the enemy's country, made farther progress every day. Their excessive boldness made the Hetrurians conceive thoughts of laying ambuscades for them in several places. During the night they seized all the eminences that commanded the plain, and found means to conceal a good number of troops upon them. The next day they dispersed more cattle about the country than they had done before. The Fabii being apprized, that the plains were covered with flocks and herds, and defended by only a very
small

small number of troops, they quitted their fort, leaving in it only a sufficient number to guard it. The hopes of a great booty quickened their march. They arrived at the place in order of battle, and were preparing to attack the advanced guard of the enemy, when the latter, who had their orders, fled without staying till they were charged. The Fabii believing themselves secure, seized the shepherds, and were preparing to drive away the cattle. The Hetrurians then quitted their sculking places, and fell upon the Romans from all sides, who were most of them dispersed in pursuit of their prey. All they could do was to rally immediately; and that they could not effect without great difficulty. They soon saw themselves surrounded on all sides; and fought like lions, selling their lives very dear. But finding that they could not sustain this kind of combat long, they drew up in a wedge, and advancing with the utmost fury and impetuosity, opened themselves a passage through the enemy, that led to the side of the mountain. When they came thither, they halted, and fought with fresh courage, the enemy leaving them no time to respire. As they were upon the higher ground, they defended themselves with advantage notwithstanding their small number, and beating down the enemy, who spared no pains in the attack, they made a great slaughter of them. But the Veientes having gained the top of the mountain by taking a compass, fell suddenly upon them, and galled them exceedingly from above with a continual shower of darts. The Fabii defended themselves to their last breath, and were all killed to a man.

Some say, that after the death of the three hundred and six Fabii only one infant of the whole family remained, called Q. Fabius Vibulanus. This is Livy's opinion, and that of many other writers after him. But Dionysius Halicarnassensis refutes it, and demonstrates that it is an error, by very strong proofs. And indeed, supposing it true, none of the three hundred and six Fabii, of whom the garrison of Cremera consisted,

A. R. 277.
Ant. C.
475. sisted, must have been married, which was contrary to the laws; or none of them must have left either children under the mother's wing, wives with child, or brothers that were not of age to serve, which is not less remote from all probability. On the other side, it is certain from the Consular calendars (Fasti) that all the Fabii who after appear in history, were the descendants solely of this Q. Fabius Vibulanus, who was three times Consul, and one of the Decemviri †: which occasions a very considerable difficulty.

The Roman People were highly affected with the loss of the Fabii. The day of their defeat was ranked amongst their unfortunate days, called Nefasti, on which the tribunals were shut up, and no public affair could be negotiated, or at least concluded. The memory of these illustrious Patricians, who had so generously sacrificed themselves for the service of the state, could not be too much honoured. A like zeal and devotion for one's country never was known at all.

The defeat of the Fabii was soon followed by that of the Roman army commanded by Menenius. The Hettrurians, flushed by their victory, advanced towards Rome, where they occasioned a great alarm. Horatius, the other Consul, was recalled from the country of the Volsci where he commanded, marched with the utmost expedition to the aid of his country, and by several advantages which he gained over the enemy, delivered it from the extreme danger it was in. The Hettrurians, however, continued masters of Janiculum.

A. R. 278.

SP. SERVILIUS.

Ant. C.

AUL. VIRGINIUS.

474.

Dion. l. 9.

p. 583—

594.

Liv. l. 2.

c. 51—54.

The Hettrurians repaid the Romans at this time all the damages they had sustained from the Fabii. Janiculum was their fort, from whence they ravaged all

† The system of Perizonius might reconcile this contradiction. He imagines, that the garrison of Cremera here in question, consisted only of three hundred and six soldiers in all, that but a very few of them were of the Fabian family, and that the rest were their clients. PERIZ. Animad. Hist. c. 5.

the

the flat country. Servilius gave them battle with disadvantage, and escaped with his army only by the immediate aid brought him by his colleague, in effect of which the Hetururians were entirely defeated.

A. R. 278
Ant. C.
474.

Peace abroad always made way for domestic troubles. All the endeavours of the Senators could not prevent Menenius, who had been Consul the year before, from being brought to a trial. Two of the Tribunes cited him to give an account of the ill success of the Roman army under his command, and of the disgrace it had sustained. The loss of the Fabii, and the taking of Cremera, were particularly laid to his charge, and the People almost unanimously condemned him in the assembly by Tribes (Comitia Tributa) though he was the son of that Menenius Agrippa, who had brought back the People after their retreat to the Sacred Mountain, and reconciled them to the Patricians. The sentence extended only to a fine, but by the event became sentence of death. Menenius, condemned to pay two thousand asses, a considerable sum in those times, died soon after of grief on account of such usage from his country.

A. R. 279.
Ant. C.
473.

C. NAUTIUS.

P. VALERIUS.

As soon as Servilius quitted his office, he was summoned before the People by two of the Tribunes to justify himself in respect to the defeat of the army, of which he had been the cause. The Senators were seriously alarmed upon this occasion, and considered the danger of Servilius as their own. They stirred in the affair extremely, set all their friends and clients at work, and conjured the People not to condemn a man, whose only crime was having been unfortunate, and not to expose the Commonwealth to the unhappy consequences that threatened it, in case its generals were made responsible for events, and the want of success was to cost them so dear. When the day of trial arrived, Servilius appeared, and defended himself with the air of modesty that became a man in the

A. R. 279.
Ant. C.
473.

presence of his judges, but at the same time with the constancy and resolution of one who did not believe himself criminal. * He was as intrepid before their tribunal as he used to be on a day of action in the face of the enemy. He was neither seen exciting their compassion, deploring his misfortune, descending to mean prayers, nor shewing the least sign of weakness and dejection. He even reproached the People with the abuse they had made, in the case of Menenius, of a power for which they were indebted to the father of that illustrious person. This generous assurance, far from offending the People, pleased them exceedingly. Virginus, who had been Consul with him, and to whom they believed themselves obliged for the victory, not only defended him against all reproach, but gave him a share in the honour of the success. Servilius was unanimously acquitted, and declared innocent. The advantageous testimony of his colleague was a powerful motive with the People to absolve him: but their shame for having condemned Menenius, made a still greater impression upon them in favour of Servilius, so much was their disposition changed in regard to the former.

There were some successful expeditions this year against the Hetrurians, Veientes, and Sabines, which acquired Valerius the honour of a triumph.

A. R. 280.
Ant. C.
472.

L. FURIUS.

C. MANLIUS.

A truce of forty years was granted to the Veientes.

The Consuls strongly opposed the instances made by the Tribunes for appointing commissioners for the inspection and distribution of lands, according to the scheme formed and accepted many years since.

* Fervidi animi vir, ut in publico periculo antè, sic tum in suo.
Liv.

L. ÆMILIUS.

A. R. 281.

Ant. C.

OPITER VIRGINIUS, or VOPISCUS JULIUS.

471.

Foreign wars being terminated, the domestic dissensions broke out more fiercely than ever. There was at that time amongst the Tribunes a bold man, of sufficient eloquence, named Genucius. As he saw that all the methods, which had hitherto been employed, had produced no effect, he conceived a new one, which was to prosecute the Consuls of the foregoing year, by citing them before the People, to give an account why they had not created the Decemviri for the distribution of lands, according to the Senate's decree to that effect. (This decree of the Senate had been passed twelve years.) The accused, in the extreme danger wherein they saw themselves, set every thing in motion. They addressed themselves principally to the younger Senators, and the more effectually to interest them in the affair, they advised them "to renounce the honours and government of the Commonwealth from thenceforth; to consider the fasces of the Consuls, the purple robe, and Curule chair, only as the pomp of their funerals; and to remember well, that they were only adorned with all those marks of dignity like victims for the altar. That if the Consulship had, however, some attraction for them, let them reflect, that it retained only the name, and that the power of the Tribunes had entirely enervated its efficacy. That the Consul, like one of the Tribunes serjeants, could only act at their pleasure, and according to their orders. That if they entertained any thoughts of throwing off those chains, of giving the helm to the Senate, or considering any authority in the Commonwealth but that of the People, they ought to set before their eyes the banishment of Coriolanus, the condemnation and death of Menenius, and to expect the same fate themselves."

The Senators, animated by this discourse, held assemblies, not in public, but secretly and by stealth. As it was concluded in them, that the accused were to

Dionys.
l. 9. p. 594
—605
Liv. l. 2.
c. 54, 58.

A. R. 281. be saved at any price whatsoever, the most violent
 Ant. C. counsels were relished most; and there did not want
 471. persons to undertake any thing.

When the day of trial arrived, the people repaired in throngs to the Forum, in anxious expectation of what was to pass there. At first they were surprised, that the Tribune delayed coming so long. As some time passed, and he did not appear, that long delay began to give suspicion. It was believed that the Senators had prevailed upon him to renounce his enterprize; and that either gained by their promises, or intimidated by their menaces, he had abandoned and betrayed the cause of the public. At length, those who remained at his door in expectation of his coming abroad, came and told the assembly that he had been found dead † in his house. On that news; the People, trembling and terrified, dispersed on all sides, like an army that had lost their General. But the Tribunes were more particularly seized with dread, the death of their colleague instructing them how weak a security the sacred laws were for them. The Senators on their side took no care to moderate their joy, and gave themselves up to it without bounds, and contrary to all decency; saying openly, that nothing but an extraordinary blow could subdue the Tribunitian power. The Consuls, with a triumphant air and tone, immediately decreed the levies, which were made without resistance, the Tribunes being inexpressibly dejected and terrified.

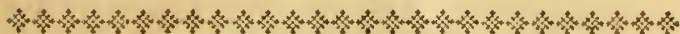
This timorous silence and cowardly inaction exasperated the People more than the imperious conduct of the Consuls. Every one said, “ That there was an end of liberty: that they were fallen again into their ancient state: that the power of the Tribunes was dead and buried with Genucius. That it was necessary to have recourse to other measures, and to see what barrier could be opposed to the violence of the Senators.

† Dionysius Halicarnassensis adds, that there was no mark of violence upon him which gave reason to believe he had been assassinated, strangled, poisoned, or destroyed in any manner: but Livy manifestly supposes that the Senators were the authors of his death.

As the People were now without support, the only choice they could make, was to defend themselves by their own strength. That the Consuls had no other force nor guard, but twelve Lictors, Plebeians themselves, a weak and contemptible aid, if they knew how to despise them.”

A. R. 281.
Ant. C.
471.

By such discourses they animated each other.



C H A P. III.

Volero causes a law to be passed very contrary to the authority of the Senate. The army suffers itself to be defeated by the Volsci out of hatred to Appius, who causes it to be decimated. The other army serves Quintius against the Æqui with ardour. Appius is cited before the People: he dies before sentence is passed against him. New troubles.

ONE Publilius Volero, of a Plebeian family, a man of courage, and known by his great actions in war, had been a captain in former campaigns. The Consuls, instead of lifting him as an officer, were for reducing him to serve under them in quality of a private soldier. Believing himself dishonoured by a rank beneath what he had held, and having nothing to reproach himself with in the service that could authorize such an affront, he openly declared his discontent, and refused to obey. The Consuls, offended at his resistance, and the freedom with which he maintained his rights, caused him to be seized; upon which he called out to the Tribunes. None of them moving, nor daring to aid him, the Consuls ordered the Lictors to strip and scourge him with rods. Volero then said, “ I appeal to the People, as the Tribunes choose rather to see a citizen unjustly scourged before their eyes, than to be strangled in their beds.” The more he cried out, the more eager the Lictor was to strip him.

A. R. 281. him. Volero was in the vigour of life and very robust.
 Ant. C. 471. After having struck the Lictor roughly in the face, he threw him down, and did as much by a second, who came to his assistance. Having extricated himself in that manner out of their hands, he joined the croud where he saw it in the greatest ferment and indignation, crying out: "I appeal to the People; I implore the protection of the People; stand by me, citizens and comrades. You have nothing to expect from the Tribunes: they have occasion themselves for your aid." The fire spread amongst the People. They prepared as for a battle; and it was most evident that every thing was upon the point of being carried to the utmost violences, without regard either to birth, age, or dignity. The Consuls having attempted to oppose this storm *, found by experience, that the majesty of their office was but a feeble support without force. Their Lictors were beaten, the fasces broke to pieces, and themselves driven out of the Forum into the Senate, uncertain how far Volero would carry his victory.

The tumult being appeased, the Consuls assembled the Senate, and warmly complained of the bad treatment they had received from the violence of the People, and the audacious insolence of Volero. The Patricians, who considered this insult of the Consuls as the subversion, and annihilation of the magistracy, were for having him, who had presumed to lay violent hands upon the Lictors, thrown from the Tarpeian rock. The Plebeians on their side, who could not suffer any attempts against their liberty, demanded justice against the Consuls, for the indignity with which they had treated a citizen, merely for calling upon the Tribunes for their assistance. This private cause of Volero became that of the public to such a degree, that the dispute concerning the distribution of the lands was forgot, and nothing talked of but privileges and liberty. The division growing hot on both sides, all

* *Experti sunt parum tutam sine viribus majestatem esse.* Liv.

the rest of the year past in contests, and nothing remarkable was done either at home or abroad.

L. PINARIUS.

A. R. 282.

P. FURIUS.

Ant. C.

470.

One of the Vestals convicted of a criminal commerce, is put to death in the usual manner.

Volero, who the year before had so vigorously asserted the interests of the People, was rewarded for his zeal, and deemed worthy of a place amongst the Tribunes. As soon as he entered upon office, he assembled the People. It was believed, that to avenge himself on the two Consuls of the foregoing year who had used him oppressively, he was going to attack them, and to cite them to a trial : But he carried his views farther. He turned his whole resentment against the entire body of the Senate, and undertook to deprive them of the credit they had in the election of the Tribunes, in causing it to be ordained, that, instead of being chosen in the assemblies by *Curiae*, as had been the custom till then, they should be elected in the assemblies by Tribes. The principal difference of these assemblies was this. The *Curiae* were certain parts of the city, to the number of thirty, which had each their peculiar place, where they assembled to sacrifice, and for other acts of religion, almost like our parishes. For calling them all together, it was necessary that the Senate should pass a decree, and that their deliberations should be preceded by auspices, which the Augurs, Patricians by birth, often interpreted according to the views and interests of the Senate. Only the inhabitants of Rome had a right to vote in this assembly ; after which a new decree of the Senate was necessary for confirming what had passed in it. For all these reasons the Patricians had a great sway in the Assemblies by *Curiae*, or *Comitia Curiata*. But it was otherwise in the Assemblies by Tribes. They were called without the permission of the Senate, and without consulting the auspices. All the Roman citizens who composed the Tribes, as well the inhabitants of the

A. R. 282.
Ant. C.
470.

the city as those of the country, were equally admitted to give their suffrages in them; and as the common people (*plebs*) were infinitely superior to the Patricians in number, and the voices were collected by the head, they were always arbiters of affairs in these Comitia Tributa. Their ordinances, which were called Plebiscita, were not submitted to the examination of the Senate.

Volero, in order to pass the law he meditated, had engaged two of the four other Tribunes; and the two that remained, though they did not second him, did not however formally oppose him. But the Consuls, Senate, and all the Patricians made the utmost resistance. The disputes were carried so far, that night came on, and the assembly was obliged to break up without coming to any resolution. The affair, which of itself admitted great difficulties, took up much time; and a plague which happened, and raged exceedingly throughout all Italy, and particularly at Rome, suspended the execution of it till the year following.

Volero was created Tribune for the second time, as were the two others who had the same views with him. The Patricians, on their side, prepared to oppose them with vigour by electing for Consuls

A. R. 283.
Ant. C.
469.

APPIUS CLAUDIUS,

T. QUINTIUS.

The first of these Consuls was the son of Appius Claudius the declared enemy of the Plebeians, and he was no less so than his father. He was raised to the Consulship contrary to his refusal and resistance, which he carried so far as to absent himself from the election; but he was however chosen in his absence. T. Quintius Capitolinus was given to him as his colleague, a person of as mild and moderate a disposition, as the other was hot and violent; in hopes that his counsels and example might soften what was too proud and haughty in the manners of Appius.

When

When the affair in question was brought again upon the carpet, it was in the month that Quintius presided in the administration: so that the other Consul could act nothing without his consent. Volero added a new article to his law, which was, that the creation of *Ædiles*, and all the deliberations in general wherein the People's interests were concerned, should be terminated in the assemblies by Tribes. This was entirely to subvert the power of the Senate, and transfer it into the hands of the People.

The Consuls, upon being apprized of this enterprize, were much in pain for the measures it was necessary to take to prevent its effect. Appius was for the most violent methods. But his colleague proposed treating the People with moderation and reason, by endeavouring to make them sensible, that their simplicity was abused, and that the pernicious counsels given them had no other tendency, than to make them act with imprudence and to their prejudice. The Senate relished this advice. Quintius having obtained permission to speak to the People, made so wise, so wary, and so solid a discourse, that it was received with the applause of the whole assembly, and reduced his adversaries, long prepared in favour of the law, to an incapacity of saying any thing reasonable for passing it. In a word, his success was so complete, that, if his colleague had not spoiled all he had done by his usual haughtiness, the People, convinced of the injustice of their cause, had absolutely rejected the law. But Appius made a discourse full of bitterness and gall, sparing neither invectives, nor the most offensive terms of any kind, which served only to exasperate the Plebeians anew, and to revive their aversion for the Senate. "He reproached them in a manner disagreeable even to the Senate, and detestable to the People, upon their first desertion to the Sacred Mountain, and the institution of Tribunes, which he said had been extorted from the Senate only by a declared revolt, and menaces of a civil war. That it was no wonder a tribunal formed by sedition should produce

A. R. 283.
Ant. C.
469.

A. R. 283. nothing but discord and tumults, which would never
 Ant. C. end but with the total destruction of the Common-
 469. wealth." And he concluded with a stroke that irritated the People most sensibly. It was, "that Rome would never want causes of division as long as they did not go to the bottom of the evil, and suffered the power of the Tribunes to subsist."

Lætorius, a man of known valour in battle, and a no less warm defender of the law than Volero, undertook to answer Appius. He strongly expatiated upon the latter's pride and insolence; he flew out against his family as the declared enemies of the Plebeians; and insisted upon the great services the People had rendered the state in all times. His words not coming from him so freely as he would have them, which is no wonder in a military man: "As I do not speak, Romans, with so much ease as I act, said he, come hither to-morrow; and I will either pass the law, or die here in your presence."

The assembly was more numerous than ever, every body expecting the issue with dread and anxiety. Lætorius commanded the Forum to be cleared of all who had not a right to vote, and as some of the young nobility refused to obey, he ordered them to be seized. The Consul Appius opposed it, pretending that his power extended only to the Plebeians. The Tribune sent his serjeant to seize the Consul himself, and the Consul his lictor to seize the Tribune, crying with a loud voice, that the Tribune was only a private person who had no right to command, and was not a magistrate. The whole People rose in defence of their Tribune with such violence, that a bloody conflict would have ensued, if Quintius had not given orders to fetch his colleague out of the assembly either by his consent or force. He then endeavoured to mollify the People, employing the most pathetic and warm entreaties, and conjured the Tribunes to dismiss the assembly, representing to them, "that a delay of some hours would not diminish their strength in the least, and would only increase it by reflection and counsel: that

that perhaps the Consul would comply with the desires of the Senate, and the Senate with those of the People: that the shortest and most certain means for passing the law, would be to refer the decision of it absolutely to the Senate, who no doubt, in effect of that mark of confidence and amity, would be the more easy in abating something of their rights." The proposal was agreed to.

A.R. 283.
Ant. C.
469.

The Consuls immediately assembled the Senate. When they began to deliberate, as they were extremely warm, nothing was heard but passion, fear and anger dictating all they said. But that first heat abating by degrees, and giving way to reflection, the more they proceeded with cool blood, the more averse they sensibly became to violent measures; so that Quintius was thanked for having pacified the People, and suspended discord by his wisdom and address. On * the other side, they conjured Appius not to carry his zeal for the rights and dignity of the Consulship farther than consisted with the present condition of affairs, and the peace of the state. That whilst the Consuls and Tribunes were tearing every thing to themselves, the state was left helpless and impotent between them, and each side seemed less intent upon the safety of the Commonwealth, than upon making themselves its masters. Appius, always untractable, and obstinately tenacious of his opinion, called Gods and men to witnesses, "that they abandoned and betrayed the Commonwealth through abject fear: that the Consul was not wanting to the Senate, but the Senate to the Consul: and that they were going to accept more pernicious laws, than those of the Sacred Mountain." However, acquiescing in the unanimous authority of the Senate, he remained quiet, and the law was passed with the consent of both orders. From thenceforth the assemblies for the creation of Tribunes and Ædiles were held

* Ab Appio petitur, ut tantam consularem majestatem esse vellet, quanta in concordia civitate esse posset. Dum Tribuni Consulesque ad se quisque omnia trahant, nihil relictum esse virium in medio: diffractam laceratamque Remp. per magistratus: magis quorum in manu sit, quam ut incolumis sit, queri. Liv.

A. R. 283. without consulting the Senate, without taking the auspices, or observing any religious ceremony that required the ministrations of the Patricians, who were then solely in possession of the priesthood.

Ant. C.
469.

The historian Piso, cited here by Livy, says, that it was on this occasion three additional Tribunes were created; their number having hitherto been only two. But this is neither Livy's own opinion, nor that of Dionysius Halicarnassensis.

Dionys.

l. 7. p. 605,
606.

Liv. l. 2.

c. 58, 60.

The domestic troubles being appeased, the armies marched against the enemy abroad. Appius was sent against the Volsci, and Quintius against the Æqui. Their success answered the character of the two generals.

Appius's cruelty was the same in the army as it had been in the city, and he gave himself up to it with the greater liberty, as he was under no restraint from the opposition of the Tribunes. He shewed an hatred for the Plebeians, by whom he had been overcome, that rose still higher than that of his father. He foamed with rage to think, that a law, suspended, and prevented from passing, by preceding Consuls, from whom not much was expected, had passed under him, who had been elected Consul only to oppose it. This secret vexation that engrossed and preyed upon him, induced him to torment his army with every kind of ill treatment, without being able by those violences to get the better of the soldiers, who were determined to mortify him, and had entered into a kind of conspiracy, not against his life, but his glory. The troops, in a manner mutinous, acted in all things with negligence, slowness, indolence, and a spirit of revolt. If Appius ordered the army to march with expedition, they moved slow on purpose. If he exhorted them to forward the works, every thing slackened that instant. When he was present, all held down their heads, as hating the sight of him: as he passed by, all wore the aspect of tacit detestation; so that his haughty spirit, insensible till then to the hatred of the People, seemed sometimes confounded and disconcerted. Having exhausted

hausted his ill-nature in vain against the soldiers, he thought fit neither to concern himself nor speak any more to them. He said, that the Centurions had corrupted the army, and to mortify them by a raillery wherein his own disgust spoke itself, he sometimes called them Tribunes of the People, and Voleros.

A. R. 283.
Ant. C.
469.

The Volsci were ignorant of nothing that passed in his army; for which reason they made all possible haste to come to a battle, expecting that the troops would certainly act in regard to Appius, as they had done before in respect to Cæso Fabius. But they carried things still farther. Under Fabius they contented themselves with resolving not to conquer: now they went so far as to resolve to be conquered. As soon as they were led on to battle, the enemy no sooner appeared, but they shamefully fled to their camp, and did not stop till they saw the Volsci preparing to force their intrenchments. They were then forced to fight; but it was plain, that it was solely to prevent the victor from taking their camp, and to let their general see, that they could have conquered if they would. For the rest, their defeat and disgrace gave them pleasure.

The pride, or more properly, the ferocity of Appius continued still the same without any diminution. He summoned an assembly, determined to vent his rage upon the whole army. The Lieutenant-generals and Tribunes repaired to him, and exhorted him not to put his authority to the hazard at a wrong time, and to remember that its whole force depended on the consent of those who obey. That the soldiers said loudly, they would not go to the assembly, and that many of them demanded that they should decamp from the lands of the Volsci. Conquered by necessity, he gave orders to march away the next morning, and accordingly gave the signal at day-break. The same served also the Volsci, who charged the rear-guard with great vigour. Terror and tumult spread universally, and reached the most advanced troops, so that neither the orders of the commanders could be heard, nor the troops

A. R. 283. troops be drawn up in battle. None thought of any
 Ant. C. thing but escaping, and the enemy gave over the pur-
 469. suit, before the Romans ceased to fly.

When the soldiers were out of the enemies country, and were drawn together again, the Consul, who had followed them, calling upon them in vain to do their duty, summoned the assembly. He reproached them strongly and with great reason, with their perfidious cowardice and criminal treason. He asked the soldiers and ensigns, what was become of their arms and colours? After having caused the Centurions, who quitted their ranks, to be scourged with rods, he ordered their heads to be cut off, and decimated the rest of the army: that is to say, out of ten, one, to whose lot it fell, was put to death. By this method†, whilst the punishment fell upon few, the terror reached all. When this bloody execution was over, Appius, the object of the public hatred, returned to Rome with the sad and shameful wrecks of his army.

Things passed very differently in the other army in respect to Quintius. Charmed with his kindness and equity, the troops were all obedience to his orders, and confronted the greatest dangers with joy, without wanting exhortations, through zeal for their general, and the desire they had of pleasing him and acquiring him glory. The Æqui in consequence dared not shew themselves in the field. Quintius ravaged the greatest part of their country, and made a great booty. He gave it all to the soldiers, adding praises to that gift, to which they are no less sensible than rewards. The army returned to Rome with the warmest sentiments of affection and tenderness for their general, and on his account in a manner reconciled to the whole order of the Patricians. They said, that the Senate had given them a father to command them, and to the other army a cruel master. What a difference is here between

† Statuerunt ita majores nostri, ut, si à multis esset flagitium rei militaris admissum, sortitione in quosdam animadverteretur, ut metus videlicet ad omnes, pœna ad paucos perveniret. CIRC. in Orat. pro Cluent. n. 128.

man and man ! both however of great merit in other respects; and of distinguished valour. Humour and passion, we cannot too often repeat it, spoil the most excellent qualities, and render them, not only useless, but often even pernicious.

L. VALERIUS II.

TIB. ÆMILIUS.

A. R. 284.

Ant. C.

458.

Dionys.

l. 9. p. 606

—615.

Liv. l. 2.

61.

Under these Consuls the Tribunes brought the Agrarian law again upon the carpet, and applied to the Senate, where they made their remonstrances with abundance of respect and moderation. The Consuls, to avoid reviving ancient feuds, made no opposition, and contented themselves with asking the advice of the principal Senators. L. Æmilius, one of the Consuls father, spoke first, and strongly supported the demand of the Tribunes, proving by several reasons that it was just in itself, and beneficial for the public. Appius, though he well foresaw to what he exposed himself, incapable of being restrained by fear, when he believed, that he had justice on his side, maintained the contrary opinion with abundance of force, and brought over the majority to his opinion.

The Tribunes, highly incensed at the refusal they had received, thought of nothing but avenging themselves upon the author of that disgrace. They cited Appius before the People, to give an account of his conduct, and to answer to several heads of accusation laid to his charge. Never did a more hateful criminal appear before the People. He brought with him to their tribunal all the grievances objected to his father, besides those committed by himself. Nor ever did the Patricians interest themselves so warmly, nor use so many endeavours to save one of their order : for they saw with extreme grief the assertor of the Senate, the avenger of the Consular dignity, and the invincible bulwark of their rights against the attacks of the Tribunes, given up to the rage of the People, and that only for having a little exceeded the bounds of moderation in the heat of dispute. Appius was the only

A. R. 284.
Ant. C.
468.

one of all the Senators, that regarded the Tribunes, the People, and the judgment they were going to pass, as nothing. The Patricians, terrified by the danger in which they saw him, endeavoured in vain to persuade him to take some measures for his own safety, to give way for a time to the storm, and to appease the multitude by a conduct suitable to his present situation. This was knowing him little. He rejected with contempt such proposals as unworthy of him. Far from changing either his habit or countenance, and from appearing as a suppliant before his judges; he could not prevail upon himself, even in making his defence, either to abate any thing of his usual haughtiness, or to soften the sharpness of his stile in the least. He retained the same outside in every thing, the same air of confidence, the same loftiness of aspect, and the same force in his speech: so that the greatest part of the People were no less awed by him when cited before them as a criminal, than they dreaded him before when Consul. He pleaded his cause once, always in the same tone, that is to say rather as an accuser, than an accused: and he amazed the Tribunes and People so much by his resolution and constancy, that they could not help putting off the judgment to another day. Before that day arrived, according to some authors he died of disease; but others say, he put an end to his own life. His son demanded permission to pronounce his father's funeral oration, which the Tribunes opposed. The * People, more equitable, could not suffer so great a man to be deprived of an honour so justly his due. They heard his praise after his death with as favourable an ear, as they had heard his accusation during his life; and assisted at his funeral in a body.

During the seven or eight following years, history presents us only with some inconsiderable wars against the neighbouring people, and perpetual enemies of Rome: the Æqui, Sabines, and Volsci.

* Plebs fraudari solenni honore supremum diem tanti viri noluit & laudationem tam æquis auribus mortui audiit, quam vivi accusationem audierat. LIV.

T. NUMICIUS PRISCUS.

A. R. 285.

Ant. C.

467.

A. VIRGINIVS.

The multitude, who believed themselves oppressed by the great, to exprefs their resentment on that account, absented themselves from all the assemblies by centuries, in which the noble and rich had the principal authority. The Plebeians seemed to intend to separate themselves again from the body of the Commonwealth. None of them appeared at the election of Consuls for the following year; and what had never happened before, they were raised to that dignity only by the votes of the Senate, Patricians, and their Clients, who, notwithstanding these divisions, continued always attached to their patrons.

T. QUINTIVS II.

A. R. 286.

Q. SERVILIUS.

Ant. C.

466.

The Romans take the city of Antium from the Volsci.

TIB. ÆMILIUS.

A. R. 287.

Q. FABIVS.

Ant. C.

465.

This Fabius, according to Dionysius Halicarnassensis, was the son of one of the three brothers of that name killed at Cremera; which is certain from the Consular calendar, or Fasti Capitolini. Livy calls him the only one of that family who did not perish that unfortunate day: which admits of great difficulties. The only surviving Fabius according to him was not fifteen at that time, *prope puberem*. From that defeat to the present time, only ten years are elapsed. Did the Romans choose Consuls of five and twenty? There is indeed one example of this kind long after in the person of Valerius Corvus, who was elected Consul at three and twenty years of age: but that seldom happened. On the other side, had any Fabius besides this remained, would it be possible that none except this and his descendants should attain honours? Now all the Fabii

Dionys.
l. 9. p. 615
—626
Liv. l. 3.
c. 1---8.

Liv. l. 7.
c. 17.

A. R. 287. mentioned in the sequel descend from the Consul of
 Ant. C. this year. I leave these difficulties to be cleared up
 465. by the learned.

The Tribunes during this Consulship began their intrigues again in respect to the Agrarian law. To frustrate their effect, the Senate granted the People part of the lands taken the last campaign from the Antiates. When the Plebeians were to give in their names to the Triumviri, appointed for the establishment of that colony, few Plebeians offered themselves. Rome had too many charms for its inhabitants, and nobody was willing to quit it. Games, shews, publick assemblies, the hurry of affairs, the People's share in the government, every thing conspired to keep the citizen there, how poor soever he might be. A colony was considered as an honest banishment; and * the most miserable of the Plebeians chose rather, on this occasion, to live in indigence at Rome, and to wait there the uncertain distribution of lands with which they had so long been flattered, than actually to possess them in a rich colony. The Senate therefore, to compleat the colony, were obliged to permit the Latines and Hernici to have a share in the privilege.

A. R. 288. Q. SERVILIUS II.
 Ant. C. SP. POSTUMIUS.
 464.

A. R. 289. Q. FABIVS II.
 Ant. C. T. QVINTIVS III.
 463.

The Census or muster of the citizens capable of bearing arms, was taken this year at Rome. The number amounted to an hundred and twenty-four thousand two hundred and fourteen. This was the ninth Census.

* Fecit statim, ut sit, fastidium copia: pauci nomina dedere—
 Cetera multitudo poscere Romæ agrum malle, quam alibi accipere.
 Liv. l. 3. c. 1.

T H E

R O M A N H I S T O R Y.

I N T R O D U C T I O N.

THOUGH I have endeavoured in the introduction at the beginning of this volume to give some idea of the government of the Roman Commonwealth, I have been far from exhausting that subject, which is of very great extent. For the better knowledge of the genius and character of that government, I conceived it necessary to insert a passage from Polybius in this place, which I have already made use of elsewhere*. I shall annex to it, first, some brief reflections upon the harangues of Livy, and next, for the information of youth, a short series of the principal Epochas, that occur in the history of the Roman republic, which may assist their memory in retaining it.

S E C T. I.

R E F L E C T I O N S O F P O L Y B I U S.

Upon the different kinds of government, and in particular upon that of the Romans.

THE different kinds of government are generally reduced to three: in the first the King governs, which Polybius calls *Βασιλευς*, *Regal government*; in

* In the treatise upon the study of the Belles Lettres.

the second the Great, the Powerful, have the whole authority, which is termed *Aristocracy*; and lastly in the third, called *Democracy*, the whole power vests in the People.

Each of these governments have another kind which much resembles it, borders very near upon it, and into which it often degenerates. We shall mention it in the sequel.

The most perfect government would be That which should include all the advantages, and obviate all the dangers and inconveniences, of the three former.

Such was that of Sparta. Lycurgus knowing that each of the three sorts of government, of which we have spoke, had its almost inevitable inconveniences; that Monarchy sometimes degenerated into arbitrary and tyrannical Power, Aristocracy into the unjust government of some few particulars, and the power of the People into a blind, capricious, uncertain Rule; that legislator, I say, thought it necessary to include those three kinds of government in that of Sparta, and in a manner to blend them into one, that the royal authority might be balanced by the power of the People; and that a third Order composed of the elders, and the wisest persons of the republic, might serve as a counterpoise to the two former, to keep them continually in a kind of equilibrium, and to prevent the one from exalting itself too much above the other. He was not mistaken in his views, and no commonwealth ever retained its laws, customs, and liberty, so long as that of Sparta. The institutions of Lycurgus indeed would not have been proper for a State, that intended the making of conquests, and the aggrandizing of its power: whence we may believe, that those were not the ends he proposed in his plan. That wise legislator probably did not make the solid happiness of a people consist in them. His design was, that the Spartans, confining themselves within the bounds of their country, without ever entertaining thoughts of invading the territories of others, should, by their justice and moderation still more than by their power,

power, become the masters and arbiters of the fate of all the other states of Greece ; which, in his sense, was no less glorious than to make conquests abroad. They fell from their glory only by departing from these wise views, which, we believe, we may justly ascribe to their Legislator. For when it was necessary to find provisions, equip fleets, pay seamen, and furnish all expences for a long war out of their country, their iron money was no longer of use to them. And this it was that reduced them, all haughty as they were, servilely to make their court to the King of Persia's Satrapæ, in order to get money current every where from them, and to become voluntary slaves, till the proper time for subjecting them totally by force.

If, says Polybius, the glory of a state be made to consist in making of conquests, aggrandizing its power, extending its dominions, ruling over many nations, and attracting the eyes of the whole earth upon it, it must be confessed, that no government ever had so much the advantage, nor was so well adapted to the attainment of those ends, as that of the Romans. It united in itself, like that of Sparta, the three kinds of government of which we have spoke. The Consuls held the place of Kings : the Senate formed the public council : and the People had a great share in the administration of affairs. There was only this difference between them ; it was not by a plan and design concerted from the beginning, but by a kind of casual series of events, that Rome was led on to this form of government. Each of the three parts, which composed the body of the state, had a distinct power. The reader will not be displeased to see a description of them in this place, which may contribute very much to the understanding of the Roman History. Polybius is very extensive and circumstantial upon this head.

Power of the Consuls.

Whilst the Consuls resided at Rome, they had the administration of all the public affairs. All the other

magistrates, except the Tribunes of the People, were subordinate (1) to them. All that related to the deliberations of the Senate (2) turned upon them. They introduced embassadors to it; proposed affairs; and both worded its resolutions, and caused them to be reduced to writing. It was they, who laid them before the People, who for that purpose summoned the assemblies, in which the common affairs of the state were to be considered, who presented the Decrees of the Senate to them for their examination, and who, according to the importance of things, after an enquiry, which besides required abundance of formalities, concluded according to the Plurality of voices. To them was confided the care of causing the Decrees of the Senate, and the Ordinances of the People passed on their motion, to be put in execution. They presided at the elections of the magistrates of the commonwealth. It was for that purpose they were so often recalled from the army, and both of them seldom permitted to be out of Italy at the same time.

As to what concerns war and military expeditions, the Consuls had an almost sovereign power. They had the care of levying armies, of assigning the number of troops which each of the allies were to supply, and of nominating the officers who were to serve under them. When they were in the field, they had power to condemn and punish without appeal. They disposed of the public money at discretion, and expended what sums they thought proper; the Quæstor attending them every where, and supplying them out of the fund in his hands with whatever they demanded. To consider the Roman commonwealth therefore in this part of it, one might almost believe it to have been governed by a royal and monarchical authority.

(1) There was also a kind of subordination between the two Consuls: for according to the Valerian law, the eldest had the precedence; and according to the Julian law, he who had most children.

(2) They presided in, and had the government of, the Senate in a great measure; and assembled or dismissed it at will.

Power of the Senate.

The Senate disposed almost absolutely of the finances and public money. An account was given to them of all the revenues and expences of the state; and the Questors could deliver no sum, except to the Consuls, without a decree of the Senate. It was the same in respect to the expences, which the Censors were obliged to be at for keeping up and repairing the public buildings.

The Senate appointed commissioners for taking cognizance of and trying all extraordinary crimes committed at Rome and in Italy, that required the attention and authority of the public : such as treason, conspiracy, poisoning, and murder. The Causes and affairs of private persons or cities that related to the state, were also under its peculiar jurisdiction. It was the Senate that sent embassies, caused war to be declared against the enemies of the Commonwealth, granted audience, and gave answers to the deputies and ambassadors of Princes and States. They also sent commissioners to enquire upon the spot into the complaints of the Allies, to regulate limits and frontiers, to establish good order in the provinces, and to decide differences between Kings and States. Hence a stranger, who should have come to Rome in the absence of the Consuls, might have believed the government of the Commonwealth entirely aristocratical, that is to say, in the hands of the (1) old and wise.

Power of the People.

The power of the People was, however, very considerable. The privilege of rewarding and punishing, wherein the most essential part of government consists, vested solely in them. They often laid fines upon those who had exercised the highest offices; and alone had right to pass sentence of death upon Roman citi-

(1) Or of the nobility; from ἀριστος the best, and κρατος, power; or more properly from τῶν ἀριστῶν; κρατων, optimorum, sive optimatum potestas.

zens. In the latter case a custom, very laudable according to Polybius, was observed at Rome. This was, to leave the person accused of a capital crime at liberty to prevent sentence from being passed upon him, and to retire into some neighbouring city, where he passed the rest of his days unmolested in voluntary banishment. The People by their suffrages conferred all offices and dignities, which in a republic are the most illustrious rewards of merit and probity. They alone had right to institute and abolish laws: and, which is still more considerable, war and peace, alliances, treaties, and conventions with foreign States and Princes, were deliberated upon and determined by them. Who would not have thought such a government absolutely popular and Democratical?

Mutual dependence of the Consuls, Senate, and People.

It is this mutual dependence of the different parts of a Commonwealth, that constitutes its security, strength, and beauty. From this reciprocal necessity for each other results a kind of harmony between the different members of a state, and an unanimous support and concurrence, which, keeping them all strictly united by the tie of common interest, renders the whole body invulnerable and invincible to foreign force.

We have said before, that the Consul had almost sovereign power in time of war. He, however, depended absolutely in many things both on the Senate and People. For on the one side the necessary sums for the provisions, clothes, and pay of the soldiers, were delivered only by order of the Senate, and the refusal of those supplies made the general incapable of undertaking any thing, or of carrying on his enterprizes so far as he might desire. The same Senate, at the end of the year, could either continue him who had been Consul in the command of the army, or appoint him a successor, and thereby had it in their power either to grant, or deprive him of, the glory of terminating the war.

war. And lastly, it depended on the Senate either to lessen or exalt the lustre of the general's exploits : for they both decreed (1) the honour of triumphs, and regulated the expences that were necessary in those august and pompous solemnities. On the other side, as the People decreed wars, confirmed or cancelled treaties with foreign States and Princes, and at the end of the campaign made the generals render an account of their conduct, it is easy to perceive, how attentive it was necessary for them to be, in order to conciliate the favour of the People.

As to the Senate, though its power was so great in other respects, it was, however, under restraint, and in subjection in many points to that of the People. In great affairs, and especially those affecting the lives of the citizens, the People's authority was requisite. When any laws were proposed, even such as tended to the diminution of the rights, honours, and prerogatives of the Senate, and the retrenching of the estates of the Senators by a new distribution of the conquered lands, it was at the People's option either to receive or reject them. But what most argued their power, was, that if only one of their Tribunes opposed the resolutions and enterprizes of the Senate, that opposition sufficed for putting an immediate stop to them, so that after it the Senate could proceed no farther.

And lastly, the People on their side had also great interest in observing measures with the Senators, whether in general, or particular. The receivers of taxes, customs, tributes, in a word, of all the duties and revenues of the state ; the undertakers, who supplied the armies with provisions, repaired the temples and other public buildings, and had the care of the

(1) Livy tells us, Lib. 3. c. 43. that when the Senate refused the honour of triumph to the Consuls Valerius and Horatius, upon account of their having acted highly in favour of the People, the Tribune Icilius proposed their triumphing to the People, which honour the People then granted for the first time without the authority of the Senate. — *Quum ingenti consensu patrum negaretur triumphus, L. Icilius Tribunus plebis tulit ad populum de triumpho Consulum.* — *Tum primum, sine auctoritate Senatus, populi jussu triumphatum est.*

highways ; these persons formed numerous societies, who were of the order of the People, including the Roman Knights, and subsisted a great number of the citizens, some being employed in collecting the revenues, some serving as security for the tax-farmers, and others lending their money to make the necessary advances, and thereby putting it out to advantage. Now the Censors disposed of these farms to such societies as offered themselves for that purpose, and also assigned the different works that were to be done to the Undertakers : and the Senate, either by itself, or commissioners nominated expressly, adjudged without appeal all disputes that arose concerning these matters, whether the question were sometimes to cancel agreements that were become impracticable, and to grant farther time for the payment of money ; or that it were necessary to reduce the rent of the farms upon account of some unhappy accident. And, which was still more capable of inspiring the People with submission and respect for the decrees of the Senate, it was out of their body that the judges * of all affairs public and private of any importance were generally chosen. The citizens were no less obliged to observe measures and keep fair with the Consuls, upon whom they all depended, especially in time of war, and when they served under them in the army.

It was this mutual dependence and concert of all the orders of the Commonwealth, that rendered the government of Rome the most perfect that ever was in the world.

When we read in the beginnings of the infant-republic, and the succeeding years, those almost continual seditions, which so long divided the Senate and People, and that kind of intestine war between the Consuls and Tribunes, we are amazed, and with reason, how it was possible for a state, agitated by so frequent and violent convulsions, not only to subsist, but

* The form of trials was changed in process of time.

at the same time to subject all its neighbours, and soon after to extend its conquests into very remote regions. Polybius gives us a very solid reason for it, highly for the honour of the Roman People. It is, that when the republic was attacked by a foreign enemy, the fear of the common danger, and the motive of public good, suspended domestic feuds, and reinstated union. The love of their country then was in a manner the soul that put all the parts and members of the State in motion, every one striving, in emulation of each other, to acquit himself of his functions, and discharge his duty, whether the question were to form resolutions with maturity and wisdom, or to put them in execution with expedition and vigour. And it was this good understanding and unanimity that rendered the Commonwealth always invincible, and occasioned the constant successes of its enterprizes.

It was this same constitution of the Roman government, that still supported the Commonwealth, and caused it to subsist for some time, even when the citizens, delivered from the fear of foreign enemies, grown haughty and insolent from their victories, enervated by riches and voluptuousness, and corrupted by praises and flattery, began to abuse their power, and to commit a thousand violences and oppressions. For in that state of things, the authority of the Senate, and that of the People, being always counterbalanced by each other, when the one attempted to exalt itself, the other immediately united all its forces to pull it down, and keep it within due bounds. Thus by this reciprocal equality, and balance of power and credit, the Commonwealth, whilst it subsisted, retained its liberty and independence.

S E C T. II.

Reflections upon Livy's Harangues.

LIVY, principally on the occasion of the differences between the Senate and People, repeats the speeches made on both sides, which are passages of consummate eloquence. Many, who want neither taste nor capacity, are offended at the length of this kind of harangues, which occur from time to time in our historian. To judge rightly of them, in my opinion, it is but just to place ourselves in the country and ages in question, to set before our eyes their manners and customs, and to call to mind the methods in which the public affairs were transacted at Rome. I shall repeat some examples of them in this place, which will set the thing in a clearer light.

The Military Tribunes, having changed the siege of Veii into a blockade, resolved to make the troops winter there, which had not before been practised amongst the Romans. The Tribunes of the People opposed that innovation. Appius refutes them with force, and shews that it is for the honour of the Roman People to continue that siege till the place is taken. When the question is to rebuild the city of Rome, after its having been burnt by the Gauls, the Tribunes of the People, in order to spare individuals expence and trouble, are for transferring the seat of the Commonwealth from Rome to Veii. Camillus harangues the People, and shews what a misfortune and crime it would be to abandon Rome. The Tribune Canuleius demands, that the law, which prohibited the intermarriages of the Patrician and Plebeian families, should be annulled, and proves how unjust that prohibition is in itself, and how injurious to the People.

These are affairs of the last importance, which were treated in the Assemblies of the People, who were the natural Judges of them. To carry the suffrages, it
was

was necessary to set an affair in all its light, to shew its advantages and inconveniences, to explain all its consequences in a clear and lively manner, to answer such objections as might be made to it, and refute with force the reasons of opponents. This is what rendered the talent of speaking so necessary at Rome, as well as Athens, and occasioned eloquence to be carried to so high a degree of perfection in those two republics. And the same reason induces the English to cultivate it with so much care at this day, because it is by That affairs are carried in the two houses of parliament.

Now can an historian, who relates what passed at Rome in the assemblies of the Senate and People, dispense with giving some idea of the speeches made in them, that had so great a share in determining events? Is it not from these harangues, that we have our knowledge of what is most essential in history, of what is in a manner its soul, I mean the reasons and motives that determined the passing such a law, the making such an institution, the undertaking such a war? Does it not argue an historian's wit and address, to put these reflections in the mouth of some illustrious Roman most active in the affair, instead of making them in his own person, which would greatly diminish their force and authority?

To know whether these speeches were actually made by the persons to whom they are ascribed, is not the question. It suffices, that they contain what they ought to have said. Those Romans, accustomed to speak in the assemblies, had an eloquence so much the more estimable, as it was more natural. They ought to have reasoned as we find in their discourses, and no doubt they did so with much greater extent. The harangues of Livy on the three occasions mentioned above, though they are the longest in that historian, scarce took up half a quarter of an hour to read them, and consequently, are very remote from the length of those, which were actually spoken in the assemblies.

I believe this reflection necessary, not only in defence of Livy, whose speeches are often imputed to him as a fault, but for my own vindication when I insert them in my history, though I often abridge them.

There is one thing which always leaves the reader uncertain, and at a loss, with respect to the harangues spoke either in the Forum, or the Field of Mars, the two places, in which the Assemblies of the Roman People were usually held. When two orators, opponents to each other, spoke upon affairs of the highest importance, that were to be determined by the People, how is it to be conceived, that in places of so vast extent, they could make themselves heard by the whole multitude, and that all the citizens could give their votes with entire knowledge of the affair, and according to the effect of the orators arguments upon them?

De senect.
n. 24.

In order to this, they must have had clear, distinct, and strong voices, and lungs capable of extraordinary efforts: it is in these terms Cato expresses himself, where he speaks of the harangue, which he pronounced for the Law Voconia. *Cum ego quidem—Legem Voconiam voce magna & bonis lateribus suavissem.* But whatever efforts an orator might make, who spoke before so vast a multitude, and in a large square or Forum, it was morally impossible for him to be heard by the most remote in the assembly. Wherefore, when it came to the People's turn to deliberate, as the citizens retired each to their respective Tribe or Century, the persons who proposed the affair to their consideration, undoubtedly repeated in few words the principal reasons advanced on both sides. Thus the People did not give their suffrages at a venture, and without being informed concerning the affair in question. Besides which, independently of the discourses of the orators, they had both time and means to inform themselves of it, because * twenty-seven days

(1) Tribus Nundinis, three market-days. Every ninth day was the market-day, when the inhabitants of the country came to Rome.

were

were always to elapse between the proposal of a law, and the voting of the People upon it. It is certain, that all the affairs of the Commonwealth were transacted in this manner.

S E C T. III.

Principal Epochas of the Roman history from the foundation of Rome to the battle of Actium.

ONE of the things, which may contribute most to give order and clearness to the study of history, is to distribute the whole body of an history into certain parts and intervals, that present at first view a kind of general plan of it to the mind, shew its principal events, and make known its series and duration. These divisions ought not to be multiplied too much; otherwise they might occasion confusion and obscurity.

The whole time of the Roman History from Romulus to Augustus, seven hundred and twenty-three years, may be divided into five parts.

THE FIRST takes in the reigns of the seven Kings of Rome, and includes 244 years. A. R. 1.
Ant. C.
751.

THE SECOND is from the institution of Consuls to the taking of Rome by the Gauls, and continued 120 years, from the 245th to the 365th year of Rome. A. R. 245.
Ant. C.
507. It includes the institution of the Consuls, of the Tribunes of the People, of the Decemviri, of the Military Tribunes with Consular authority, and the siege and taking of Veii.

THE THIRD is from the taking of Rome to the first Punic war; the space of 123 years, from the 365th to the 488th. A. R. 365.
Ant. C.
387. It includes the taking of Rome by the Gauls, the war with the Samnites, and that against Pyrrhus.

THE FOURTH is from the beginning of the first Punic war to the end of the third, and contains 119 years, from the 488th to the 607th. A. R. 488.
Ant. C.
264. It concludes the first and second Punic wars, the wars against Philip King of Macedonia, Antiochus King of Asia, Perseus

the last King of Macedonia, the People of Numantia in Spain, and lastly, the third Punic war, that terminated with the taking and ruin of Carthage : about which time Corinth was taken and destroyed.

A. R. 607.
Ant. C.
145.

THE FIFTH is from the ruin of Carthage to the change of the Roman Commonwealth into a monarchy under young Cæsar Octavianus, afterwards surnamed Augustus, and continues 116 years; from 607 to 723. It includes the taking of Numantia: the domestic troubles excited by the Gracchi: the wars with Jugurtha, the allies, and Mithridates: the civil wars between Marius and Sylla, Cæsar and Pompey, and between the Triumviri and the defenders of the republican government. This last war was terminated

A. R. 721 &
723.
Ant. C. 31
& 29.

by the battle of Actium, and the institution of the sovereign and monarchical authority in the person of young Cæsar.

T H E

R O M A N H I S T O R Y.

B O O K T H E F O U R T H.

THIS fourth book contains the space of sixteen years, from the 290th to the 306th year of Rome. The four last years include the history of the Decemviri, and the institution of the XII Laws, commonly called the laws of the XII Tables.

S E C T. I.

Extreme danger of the Consul Furius amongst the Æqui. Plague at Rome: enemies repulsed. The Tribune Terentillus proposes a law for establishing fixed laws, the administration of justice being till then arbitrary. Disputes are renewed concerning the laws. Cæso Quintius, a young Patrician, who opposed the new law, is banished. L. Quintius Cincinnatus, his father, out of regret, retires into the country.

AULUS POSTUMIUS.

SP. FURIUS.

A. R. 290.
Ant. C.
462.

FURIUS, who had lately been elected Consul, on his arrival in the country of the Hernici, found the Æqui there ravaging the lands. Without knowing the number of their troops, he attacked them imprudently, and was obliged to retire into his camp with loss. The enemy besieged him there the next

A. R. 290.
Ant. C.
462.

day, and shut him up so close, that it was not possible for him to send off a courier, to carry that news to Rome. The Hernici gave advice of it. The alarm was great. The Senate ordered the other Consul "to take care that the Commonwealth suffered no damage:" *Videret ne quid detrimenti respublica caperet.* This form gave the Consuls an absolute power, and was only used upon occasions of extreme danger. They also caused all shops and tribunals of justice to be shut up: which was called *Iustitium indicere*. Postumius levied troops with the utmost expedition, and sent them immediately to his colleague. In the mean time Furius made a sally upon the enemy, and put them to flight. His brother, with a detachment of a thousand men, followed the pursuit with too much eagerness, and being surrounded on all sides, was killed fighting valiantly; and all his (1) troops were cut to pieces. On the first advice of his brother's danger, the Consul advanced to his aid, and was wounded himself. The enemy, encouraged by this double success, pursued the Consul to his camp; and would perhaps have forced it, if the aid sent from Rome had not arrived very opportunely. The Æqui were defeated more than once. Furius returned victorious to Rome. But the death of his brother, with the loss of a great number of officers and soldiers, who were killed on different occasions, left no room for rejoicing.

A. R. 297.
Ant. C.
461.

L. ÆBUTIUS. (2)

P. SERVILIUS.

The plague, which had already appeared at Rome, raged anew with greater virulence than ever. The

(1) Some say they chose to die fighting rather than surrender their arms.

(2) The time when the Consuls entered upon office is not certain from Brutus to these Consuls, who Livy tells us, began their administration the first of August. That time varied very much till the year of Rome 599, when it was decreed that the Consuls for the future should enter upon office the first of January, which institution took place to the end of the Commonwealth. Liv. lib. xlvii. 36.

number

number of slaves, day-labourers, and of the common people which it swept away is inconceivable. At first the dead bodies were carried away in carts : but the number of them became so prodigious, that they were obliged to throw those of the meaner sort into the Tiber. Amongst the persons who died of this distemper, were included the fourth part of the Senate ; of which number were both the Consuls, and more than half the Tribunes.

A. R. 291.
Ant. C.
461.

When the news of this disaster spread into the neighbouring countries, the Æqui and Volsci believed the occasion very favourable for ruining the Roman power, and entered into a league which they ratified by oath. After having ravaged the territories of the allies of the Roman people, they approached very near the city. The consternation there was inexpressible. Rome saw itself without either chiefs or forces. The tutelary Gods of Rome, says Livy, defended it : that is to say, Divine Providence preserved it from so great a danger. The enemy, undoubtedly through fear of the contagious air, that destroyed universally in the city and country, and attracted by the hopes of considerable spoils, directed their march towards Tusculum, which was an opulent country. Thus the tranquillity of Rome was restored, and the distemper ceased by degrees.

L. LUCRETIVS TRICIPITINUS.

T. VETURIUS GEMINUS.

A. R. 292.
Ant. C.
460.

A speedy vengeance was taken of the enemy. They were attacked and entirely defeated in several actions, in which they lost the greatest part of their troops.

Peace without doors made way for domestic troubles. The subject of them was new, and regarded the laws, and the rights of the People. Rome had not yet any established form of administering justice. In the earliest times the Kings dispensed it in person, and their judgments had the force of law. From the royal authority's being transferred to the Consuls, with the other functions of the sovereignty, that of render-

A.R. 292.
Ant. C.
460.

ing justice vested in them, and, as the Kings had done, they adjudged causes almost arbitrarily. The laws were few in number, and known only to the Patricians, who alone were magistrates, and possessed all the science, civil and religious, at that time in Rome.

C. Terentillus Arsa, Tribune of the People, undertook to establish a fixed form for administering justice, and to limit judgments by laws known to all. He chose his time when the Consuls were absent. "He had prepared the People for his purpose by continual invectives against the haughtiness of the Patricians, and especially against the Consular authority, carried, according to him, to a most shameful excess, and become insupportable to a free city. He urged, that it differed from the despotic power of Kings only in name, but that in effect it had something still more odious in it. That instead of one master they had two, who arrogated to themselves a power without either restraint or bounds; and who being independant, and without controul, themselves, made the whole terror and severity of the laws fall upon the People: That to put a stop to such licence, he should demand that five commissioners might be appointed to prepare laws for regulating the Consular authority: That, in consequence, the Consuls would have no other right over the People, than the People themselves should think proper to give them; it not being just, that the People should have no other law, but the passion and caprice of the Consuls."

This new plan of laws terrified the Senators, and made them fear, that the Tribune would take the advantage of the absence of the Consuls, for imposing this new yoke upon them. Q. Fabius, without loss of time, assembled the Senate as governor of the city: for his office gave him that right in the absence of the Consuls. He gave a loose to his indignation against the Tribune's rash and seditious enterprise, which tended to nothing less than subverting the

the whole form and order of the present government. “ And besides, said he, what time has he chosen for attacking the Commonwealth? Why, when it is without either chiefs or defence. If the year before, in the midst of the Plague and the war, the Gods in their anger had given Rome such a Tribune, the state had been ruined entirely. The two Consuls being dead, and the city afflicted with disease and in general confusion, he would have proposed the abolition of the Consulship, and have put himself at the head of the Æqui and Volsci to attack the city. With what pretext could he cover so pernicious a design? If the Consuls oppressed any citizen, and abused their authority, were they not to be cited before the People, and obliged to have the Plebeians themselves for their judges, of which body the complainant was one? That to act as Terentillus did, was not to render the Consular authority, but the Tribunitian power, odious, and wilfully to disturb the peace and union re-established between the two orders.” Fabius afterwards assuming a milder behaviour, addressed himself to the other Tribunes, and desired them to intercede with their colleague, to wait the return of the Consuls. They complied, and the affair was suspended.

The Consuls were immediately sent for. Lucretius returned laden with spoils and glory. A triumph was decreed him unanimously: but as he was more intent upon the public interests than his own, his sole care was to pacify the People, and put an end to division. Several assemblies both of the Senate and people were held. The Tribune at length gave way to the Consul’s authority, and desisted from his proposal. Lucretius then received the honour, of which he seemed the more worthy from his own delay of it. He triumphed with his army over the Volsci. The less triumph, called Ovatio, which has been explained elsewhere, was granted to the other Consul.

A. R. 293.
Ant. C.
459.

P. VOLUMNIUS.

SERV. SULPICIUS.

Terrible prodigies were seen the beginning of this year: the heavens all on fire, great earthquakes, and a cow that spoke. A dreadful shower fell, not of hail or snow, but of bits of flesh. Birds of all kinds devoured part of it; and what remained in the city and country lay a long time without changing colour, corrupting, or occasioning a bad smell. The books of the Sibyls which were consulted, declared, that the city was threatened with an irruption of strange enemies, who would reduce it to the brink of destruction; and that it was necessary above all things that seditions should cease. The Tribunes did not fail to say that the last article was added expressly to prevent the promulgation of the Law for establishing known Laws; and were not in the wrong.

Livy in his history often relates this kind of prodigies; which has given occasion to accuse him of a stupid and superstitious credulity. But he was far from believing what he said of them, as he declares in several places. * “At Rome, or in the neighbourhood, says that historian, many prodigies happened this winter, or (which is usual when once superstition has taken hold of a people) many were reported, and believed by credulity.” Besides which, as he found those prodigies related in the annals of the Pontiffs, and the decrees of the Senate, that ordained the expiation of them, the fidelity of history did not permit him to suppress them. † “I made a kind of scruple of conscience, says he again, to consider things as unworthy of a place in my Annals, which persons of consummate prudence had deemed worthy of being expiated by public sacrifices.” Every

* Romæ, aut circa urbem, multa eâ hieme prodigia facta, aut (quod evenire solet motis semel in religionem animis) multa nunciata, & temerè credita sunt. Liv. l. 21. c. 62.

† Quædam religio est, quæ illi prudentissimi viri publicè suscipienda censuerint, ea pro indignis habere quæ in meos annales referam. Lib.

body knows, that these prodigies made part of the religion of the antients : but I believe nobody will take offence at my not being too scrupulous in relating them.

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Ant. C.
459.

The domestic troubles began again concerning the new law, which all the Tribunes in concert supported with vigour. The substance of it was to this effect : “ That the People in the Comitia duly assembled, should chuse Decemviri, (that is to say, ten commissioners) venerable for their age and wisdom : that those magistrates should prepare a body of Laws, to serve as fixed rules in all affairs public and private : that they should report them to the People, and afterwards that they should be fixed up in the Forum, in order that every one might have cognizance of them ; and that the magistrates should be ordered to conform to them in all differences and disputes whatsoever from thenceforth.”

The Consuls and Patricians protested, that they would never permit laws to be proposed, in which the Senate had no part. They remonstrated, that laws were conventions, into which a whole state, and not a part of it only, ought to enter. Never had disputes been more warm. Both sides seemed to prepare in a manner for a battle, that was to determine the public liberty.

Amongst the Patrician Youth, Cæso Quintius, the son of L. Quintius Cincinnatus, had at that time most credit and the greatest number of Partisans. His birth and great fortune gave him the preference to any person of his age. Besides which, his person was advantageous, his valour and capacity in war unequalled, and he had an happy genius for speaking. This young Senator*, surrounded by a great body of the Patricians, was conspicuous amongst the rest, and as if all Consular and Dictatorial power were included in his

* Hic cum in medio Patrum agmine constitisset, eminens inter alios, velut omnes dictaturas consulatusque gerens in voce ac viribus suis, unus in petus tribunitios popularique procillas sustinebat. Liv. l. 3. c. 11.

A. R. 293. single voice and force, he sustained alone all the storms
 Ant. C. of the Tribunitian fury and the People's violence.
 459. He incessantly inveighed against the Plebeians, without sparing either the harshest terms, or the most outrageous treatment.

The Tribunes, exasperated to the highest degree, vowed his destruction. Virginius, one of them, cited him before the People. That citation, far from abating his courage, only enflamed it. He still persisted in opposing the law with more ardour than before; redoubled his insults and reproaches of the Plebeians, and attacked the Tribunes without any reserve, as having then a just cause for making war upon them. They were not sorry for that, as they saw he only enraged the People the more against him, and supplied them with new matter of grievance. When the day for his appearance arrived, and Cæso saw the danger at a nearer view, he grew extremely more humble, and assuming the air and tone of a (1) suppliant, submissively implored the People's clemency. All the most illustrious Senators interested themselves warmly in his behalf, and gave an authentic testimony of his distinguished merit. Lucretius especially, who had been Consul the year before, all glorious from his late triumph, divided the honour of it with him, extolling the valour which he had shewn in the battle, and repeating, as an eye-witness, the acts of bravery by which Cæso had signalized himself. He exhorted the People not to suffer a young Patrician of such excellent qualities to be lost amongst strangers, who could not but be of the greatest advantage to any city that should receive him. He added, "That the impetuosity of his genius which gave offence would continually abate with time; and that what he now wanted, that is to say, coolness of temper and prudence, would every day improve and gain ground in him. That

(1) This is Livy's account of Cæso's behaviour on this occasion, which Dionysius Halicarnassensis contradicts. The latter says, that when Cæso was called upon to plead, he refused to own the jurisdiction of the Assembly, and offered to submit to the judgment of the Consuls, whom he affirmed to be his legal judges.

his faults subsiding, and his good qualities perpetually advancing towards maturity, they might well suffer so great a man to thrive and grow old in his country." Quintius his father, surnamed Cincinnatus, did not touch upon his son's praises, to avoid irritating envy, "but endeavouring to mollify the People, and incline them to lenity by his earnest intreaties and tears, he conjured them, if he had never injured any one either in word or deed, and his life and conduct had been hitherto irreproachable, that they would grant him their grace for a son worthy of compassion, and pardon something to his years and imprudence."

The People, moved at the sight and tears of that venerable old man, seemed disposed to favour Cæso; when the Tribune, who perceived it, immediately produced a witness he had suborned: this was Volscius, who had been Tribune of the People some years before. He deposed against the accused, that himself and his brother, returning from supper at a friend's house, had been attacked by Cæso, in company with some other young persons as wicked as himself. That his brother was killed upon the spot, and that himself had been left for dead, and had not recovered his health without great difficulty. This account entirely changed the disposition of the People, who were very near passing sentence of death upon the pretended criminal directly. The Consuls put a stop to that extravagance and fury, by representing*, that an accused person, who was not condemned, and who had not had time to make his defence, could not be legally treated in that manner. The sentence was deferred till another day, and at the father's request the son was suffered to depart (1), giving security. The next day the Tribunes assembled the People in the Forum, where Cæso not appearing, he was condemned for default; and his security, who were ten in number, were compelled to

* Cui rei capitalis dies dicta sit, & de quo futurum propediem iudicium, eum indemnatum non debere violari. Liv. l. 3. c. 13.

(1) Livy tells us this was the first bail or security given to the public. Lib. 3. c. 13.

A. R. 293.
Ant. C.
459.

pay the money agreed upon. Thus this young Patrician, by the intrigues of the Tribunes and the artifice of Volscius, who gave false evidence, as we shall see in the sequel, retired to Etruria into banishment.

Cæso's father was obliged to sell the greatest part of his estate to make good the money paid by the security, and retired to a village on the other side of the Tiber, where he had a poor cottage and a small field, the sole remains that escaped this wreck of his fortune. He supported himself there by the labour of his hands, with a small number of slaves, who assisted him in cultivating his piece of land, and led an obscure and laborious life, his affliction and poverty preventing him from going to Rome, visiting his friends, and assisting at the celebration of festivals. The Tribunes, however, were not the better for having got rid of Cæso. The young Patricians became only the more haughty on that account; but they acted in a different manner, and with a wise address. After the banishment of Cæso, when the Tribunes began to propose the law; and, to remove those who opposed the passing of it, were for using some violence, the young Patricians, who brought a great body of their clients along with them, repulsed the Tribunes with vigour, but in a body, and without any one's distinguishing himself in a peculiar manner from the rest: so that the People complained, that instead of one Cæso, they had now a thousand upon their hands. On the other days, nothing was kinder and more moderate than the same young nobility. They saluted the Tribunes respectfully, entered into conversation with them, did them all manner of services, and even invited them to their houses. Nothing insolent, nothing violent, was seen, except when the law was proposed: in other respects their behaviour was entirely agreeable and popular. The Tribunes in consequence were not able to propose their law, during that whole Consulship; but were re-elected by the People for the following year.

S E C T. II.

The Tribunes spread a false report of a conspiracy formed by the Patricians. The Sabine Herdonius seizes the Capitol in the night: he is defeated and killed. Quintius Cincinnatus, Cæso's father, is taken from the plow, and made Consul. He appeases a tumult. He refuses to be continued in office. New troubles. L. Minutius being besieged in his camp by the Æqui, Q. Cincinnatus is created Dictator. He delivers the Consul, defeats the enemy, triumphs, and abdicates the Dictatorship at the expiration of sixteen days. Ten Tribunes of the People are created instead of five. Part of mount Aventine is given to the People, to build upon. The Tribunes propose the Agrarian Law again. The Senate's reasons for opposing it so strongly.

C. CLAUDIUS.

P. VALERIUS.

A. R. 294.

Ant. C.

458.

THE Tribunes not observing the same ardour for their interests in the most considerable part of the People, whom the Patricians had conciliated by their good offices and other demonstrations of benevolence, set new engines at work in order to render them suspected. Every means, however improbable in itself, seemed good, so much had their passion blinded them. "They spread a report in the city, and had the confidence to carry the news to the Senate itself, of a terrible conspiracy, of which they had received certain advice from different parts by several letters. These they had counterfeited themselves. Cæso, said they, is at the head of it, and now actually in Rome. The design was to kill the Tribunes, and to put the Plebeians to the sword. The antient Senators had given the Patrician youth commission to extirpate the power of the Tribunes, and to re-instate the government upon the same foot as it was before the retreat to the Sacred Mountain." The Consul Claudius, who well knew

A. R. 294. knew the Tribunes, and of what they were capable,
 Ant. C. maintained that this pretended conspiracy was a meer
 458. fable, contrived to alarm weak minds; and proved it clearly, even from the circumstances of the account they had given of it. He said as much in the assembly of the People. The most discerning of the Plebeians easily perceived that there was nothing more in it, than a design to intimidate them by groundless fears. But some gave into these false reports, and believed them true. That was enough for the Tribunes. It generally suffices to these sowers of falsehoods and calumnies, that they make impression upon the minds of some: that is, gain enough for them.

The Tribunes perhaps had some confused notion of a conspiracy, that actually broke out soon after, and their hatred had determined suspicions and apprehensions against the Patricians, which they ought to have levelled at an enemy without doors. This was Herdonius, a very rich and powerful Sabine, and still more bold and ambitious, whom the divisions that prevailed at Rome had given hopes of making himself master of it. With a body of exiles and slaves, to above the number of four thousand five hundred, he seized the Capitol in the night. He flattered himself that he could make the slaves take arms, bring over the exiles to join him, and even engage the meaner citizens to declare in his favour, by amusing them with the hopes of making them arbiters of the laws of the government. His design was, after having surprised Rome, either to have made himself the Sovereign of it; or, in case he could not support himself in the usurpation with his own forces, to have delivered up the city to the Sabines. As soon as he had taken the citadel, he began by putting all within it to the sword, that would not enter into the conspiracy, and take arms with him. The few who escaped ran to the Forum, and spread the alarm. "To arms, to arms, the enemy are in the city," was the universal cry. The Consuls, uncertain whether the danger were within or without the walls, were equally afraid either

to arm the People, or to leave them unarmed. They contented themselves with posting guards in the places where they were most necessary, and passed the remainder of the night in great perplexity, not knowing either what enemy, or what number, they had to oppose. This the day-light shewed them. Herdonius caused billets to be thrown into the city from the Capitol, by which he invited the slaves to join him upon promise of their liberty. "He declared that he had taken upon him the defence of the miserable, in order to reinstate exiles unjustly banished in their country, and deliver slaves from the cruel yoke of servitude. That he had rather the Roman People should execute those views themselves. That, if he saw no hopes on that side, he should have recourse to the Æqui and Volsci, and should set all the neighbouring states in motion, in order to effect his design."

A. R. 294.
Ant. C.
458.

The Senate and Consuls began now to discern the matter aright. But besides what they knew for certain, they apprehended, that the Veientes and Sabines might have entered into this plot, and, whilst they had so many of the enemy already in the city, that they might soon see the Sabine and Etrurian legions arrive, followed by those of the Æqui and Volsci, the eternal enemies of Rome, not to ravage the country as formerly, but to possess themselves of a city already half taken. Amongst so many causes of dread, their principal fear was in respect to the slaves, in whom they did not dare either to confide, not being assured of their fidelity, nor express distrust, for fear of making them enemies.

One thing consoled them, which was, that they did not think there was any thing to apprehend from the People or the Tribunes. They considered the domestic dissensions as evils which generally broke out in times of peace and tranquillity, and for which the present general trouble of the city did not seem to leave any room. However, those divisions were very near ruining it on this occasion. The fury of the

Tri-

A.R. 294.
Ant. C.
458.

Tribunes, or rather their phrenzy, rose so high, as to make them desirous to persuade the People, that all this tumult was only a stratagem of the Patricians to make a diversion, and to prevent them from thinking of the Law; that it was their clients and friends who had seized the Capitol; and that as soon as they should see their design miscarry by the publication of the Law, they would retire with as much tranquillity as they came. Accordingly they assembled the People for that purpose, and prevented them from taking arms.

The Consuls on their side summoned the Senate together, and being informed that the People laid down their arms, and quitted their posts, they were seized with terror and amazement, and could scarce believe such a madness possible. Valerius, leaving his colleague in the Senate, flew to the assembly of the People. "What is the meaning of this!" cried he to the Tribunes! "Are you for subverting the common-wealth under the conduct and auspices of Herdonius? Has he then succeeded in corrupting you, who could make no impression upon your slaves? How! whilst the enemy are over our heads, do you make the citizens lay down their arms, and do you think of making Laws?" Then addressing himself to the multitude, he continued to this effect. "Romans, if you are neither moved by the danger of the city nor your own misfortunes, at least respect the Gods of your country, who are in the hands of the enemy. The most high Jupiter, Queen Juno, Minerva, and all the Gods and Goddesses, are actually besieged. Slaves have pitched their camp in your temples. Does the manner in which we act, argue a People in their senses? Whilst the enemy are not only within our walls, but have made themselves masters of the citadel, we hold assemblies with indifference, and deliberate with unconcern, as in times of peace and leisure! Ought we not rather, as many inhabitants as there are of us, Senators, Plebeians, Consuls, Tribunes, to take arms, to run to the Capitol, and deliver the august abode

" of

“ of the most high Jupiter ? O thou, whom we ac-
 “ knowledge for our father, divine Romulus, inspire
 “ thy descendants with the same courage, with which
 “ thou didst formerly recover this citadel from the
 “ same Sabines, when they had made themselves mas-
 “ ters of it by the means of money. Cause thy Ro-
 “ mans to tread now in the well-known steps of thy self
 “ and thy victorious army. For me, I am ready, as
 “ Consul, to be the foremost in following you, as far
 “ as it is in the power of a mortal to follow a God.”

A. R. 294.
 Ant. C.
 458.

After having spoke thus, with a tone of authority, he commanded the citizens to take arms, and declared, “ That he would treat all who should oppose it, as enemies to the State, without regard to the Sacred Laws. That the Tribunes who forbade the citizens to take arms, would arm them against the Consul Valerius : and that he should not fear to act in the same manner against the Tribunes, as his father had done against the Kings.” Every thing seemed upon the point of terminating in the utmost violence, and of exhibiting the sedition of the Romans as a spectacle to the enemy. However, the Tribunes could neither pass the Law, nor the Consul make the troops march to the Capitol ; and night suspended the dispute.

When the Tribunes, who blew up the spirit of discord, were retired, the Senators mingled with the People, and each on their side, in circles, held discourses suitable to the present conjuncture. “ They implored the citizens to consider the danger to which they exposed the commonwealth, and to remember that the dispute was no longer between the Senate and People, but that alike, Plebeians as well as Patricians, citadel, temples, the Gods of the public, their household Gods, were all abandoned to the enemy.”

Whilst these measures were taken in the Forum for appeasing the sedition, the Consuls posted troops at the gates of the city, and at other places, against the Sabines and Veientes, in case they should come to attack Rome.

A. R. 294.
Ant. C.
458.

The same night, the inhabitants of Tusculum received the sad news of the taking of the Capitol and citadel, and of the confusion that prevailed in the city. L. Mamilius, at that time Dictator of Tusculum, immediately assembled the Senate, and represented, "That they ought not to stay till Rome sent to demand aid; that the Gods could never give them a more happy occasion for distinguishing their zeal and attachment to so powerful a neighbouring city." The troops were immediately levied, and set out for Rome, near which they arrived at day-break the next morning. They were at first taken for enemies; but the Romans soon discovered their error. They were received with joy, and marched in order of battle to the Forum, where Valerius, who had left his colleague to command at the gates, drew up his troops also. For the citizens were not able to resist his warm exhortations and promises. He had assured them, "That after the Capitol was recovered, and the tranquillity of the city restored, if they would hear what he had to say, and suffer him to inform them of the artful, self-interested views, which the Tribunes concealed under the Law in question, that he would not oppose their assembly. That the remembrance of his family, and the surname which he bore, were a kind of hereditary engagement to him to support the interests of the People, and that he should not depart from it."

Publicola.

Accordingly they followed him, notwithstanding the opposition of the Tribunes, and advanced to the declivity of the Capitoline mountain, in conjunction with the troops of Tusculum. A noble emulation of being the first to force the enemy, animated the Romans and allies. Their leaders encouraged them on both sides. The besieged, who relied solely upon the advantageous situation of their ground, began to tremble and be in disorder. They were pushed with vigour, and driven back and pursued as far as the porch of the Capitol, when Valerius, who fought at the head of his troops, was unfortunately killed. Volumnius, a person of Consular dignity, who saw him fall, caused his
body

body to be covered, and took his place. The ardour and fury with which the soldiers fought, occasioned their not perceiving so sad an event. They were victorious, before they knew they fought without a general. The temple was polluted with the blood of a great number of exiles; and many were made prisoners. The Capitol was recovered in this manner, after an obstinate defence of three days.

A. R. 294.
Ant. C.
458.

The prisoners, freemen and slaves, were punished, each according to his condition, the former by the loss of their heads, the latter by the cross. Great thanks were returned the Tusculans, who had distinguished themselves no less by their valour in fight, than their affection in flying of themselves to the aid of their allies. Preparations were made for purifying the Capitol with the usual ceremonies. The People, to do honour to the Consul's memory, and render his funeral the more magnificent, contributed each a certain sum.

This affair was no sooner happily terminated, than the Tribunes renewed their measures, and called upon Claudius to perform the promise, which Valerius had made to the People concerning the Law. The Consul amused them at first, and protracted the affair, under pretext of the sacrifices of expiation and thanksgiving, which required all his attention, and of the shews and games, which he exhibited to the People. When all these ceremonies were over, and he could no longer elude their instances and importunity, he declared that it was necessary above all things to substitute a Consul in the room of Valerius. Having, by this artifice, evaded their pursuit, he appointed a day for the election of his colleague.

Dionys.
l. 10. p. 643
---646.
Liv. l. 3.
c. 19, 21.

In the mean time, the principal Senators deliberated in secret upon the person it was necessary to chuse, and came to a resolution. On the day of the election, the whole first Class, composed of the principal and richest of the citizens, who formed eighteen Centuries of cavalry and fourscore of infantry, elected L. Quintius Cincinnatus Consul, father of Cæso Quintius,

A. R. 294. whose trial and banishment we have seen above. The
 Ant. C. other Classes were not so much as called upon to give
 458. their suffrages, because, as we have already observed, the first alone, when unanimous, were the majority.

This choice gave the People inexpressible concern: for they were about to have a Consul justly exasperated against them, who was besides powerful by the favour of the Senate, by his personal merit, and by three sons, of which not one was inferior to Cæso in greatness of mind, and took place of him in point of a prudence and moderation, that made them masters of themselves in the warmest disputes, and left them at liberty to take all the measures, and use all the cool address necessary to the success of affairs.

As soon as Quintius was chosen, the Senate dispatched deputies to invite him to take possession of his office. He was at that time at work in his field. He was holding the plow himself, covered only from his reins to his knees, with a cap on his head. When he saw the deputies of the Senate, he stopped his oxen, much surprized at the croud of people, and not knowing what they wanted. One of the number advanced, and gave him notice to dress himself in a more convenient garb; upon which he went into his cottage, put on his cloaths, and came to those who waited for him. He was immediately saluted Consul. The purple robe was put on him, the Lictors with their axes placed themselves before him to execute his orders, and he was desired to repair to Rome. That sight gave him concern and affliction; he was silent for some time, and shed tears. When he spoke, he only said; "My field then will not be sown this year." He then took leave of his wife, and having given her charge of the household affairs, set out for Rome.

Happy times! admirable simplicity! Poverty was not universally practised, but it was esteemed and honoured, and not considered as a disqualification for the highest dignities of the state. The conduct of Quintius during his Consulship, will soon shew us what

a noble nature, what constancy, and what greatness of soul, inhabited a poor wretched cottage.

A. R. 294.
Ant. C.

458.

Quintius having entered upon office, informed himself of all that had passed in the invasion of Herdonius. Taking occasion from thence to call an assembly of the People, he ascended the tribunal of harangues, and in his discourse, applied himself no less to rouse the Senate from their indolence and languor, than to reprove the licence and disorders of the People. He reproached the Senators, "That it was through their continual facility in giving way to the pretensions of the Tribunes, that they had encouraged and sustained the insolence and rebellion of the People. That the city had no longer either rule, discipline, or subordination. That all virtue, constancy, and every other noble quality, that renders youth estimable as well in peace as war, might be said to have been banished from Rome with his son Cæso. That men, whose whole merit consisted in making seditious speeches, and sowing discord between the two Orders of the State, prevailed by their intrigues to be continued two or three years in the office of Tribunes, and to act in it with tyrannical licence." "What then," cried he with just indignation, "has this Aulus Virginius, because he was not in the Capitol, deserved punishment less than Appius Herdonius? I affirm, that to judge rightly of him, he has deserved it more. Herdonius at least, in making himself our enemy, did in some sort put our arms into our hands; but the Tribune, in impudently maintaining that there was neither war nor enemy, took your arms out of your hands, and gave you up defenceless to your slaves and the exiles. And for you (suffer me to say it without offence either to Claudius my colleague here present, or to the memory of Valerius) you made your ensigns advance against the Capitol, before you had delivered yourselves from the enemy that occupied the Forum! How shameful is this to us, both in the sight of Gods and men! Whilst the enemy were masters of the Capi-

A. R. 294. " tol and citadel, and a leader of slaves and exiles,
 Ant. C. " after having profaned all things, had established his
 458. " abode in the temple of the most high Jupiter, the
 " people of Tusculum took arms before they were
 " taken at Rome. There is reason to doubt, whether
 " it was L. Mamilius, the general of Tusculum, or
 " the Consuls Valerius and Claudius, that delivered
 " the citadel of Rome. And as for us, who before
 " would not suffer the Latines to take arms in their
 " own defence, even when the enemy was in their
 " country, we had been now undone, if the same
 " Latines in pure effect of their good will had not
 " taken arms for us of their own accord. And do
 " you, Tribunes, call it aiding the Plebeians, to give
 " them up unarmed to the enemy? If any one of the
 " dregs of the People, with whom you herd, and of
 " whom you make a particular country distinct from
 " the body of the State, should come and inform you,
 " that his house was beset with armed slaves, you would
 " believe it incumbent on you to run to his aid. But
 " the most high Jupiter, besieged by armed slaves and
 " exiles, did not seem worthy of being aided in the
 " fight of the Tribunes. They demand, after this, to
 " be considered as sacred persons, they, to whom the
 " Gods are not sacred. Covered as you are with
 " crimes both before Gods and men, you are for pas-
 " sing your Law this year. But I swear to you, it
 " shall not be; and that I will sooner lose my life than
 " suffer it. We have taken our resolution. My col-
 " league and I are determined to march the Legions
 " against the Æqui and Volsci. I know not by what
 " fatality the Gods are always more favourable to us
 " in war, than during peace."

So vigorous a discourse amazed the People. The Senate began to conceive hopes and resume courage. The other Consul, too weak to act as principal, saw with joy his colleague bring on the affair, and seconded all his designs with resolution.

The Tribunes of the People treating these menaces as idle vapouring, asked with an air of contempt and
 insult,

insult, how the Consuls would march the troops into the field, as they would not be suffered to make any levies? "We have no occasion to make any," replied Quintius. "The citizens, when they took arms to recover the Capitol, all swore to Valerius, not to lay them down without the Consul's order. In consequence of that oath, we order you, as many as took it, to assemble in arms to-morrow at the lake of Regillus." The Tribunes cavilled, sought evasions, and endeavoured to elude the force of the oath, and to rid the People of all scruples, by answering, that Quintius was only a private person when the troops took the oath. But, says Livy, the contempt of the Gods, which is so common and prevalent in our days, was not known then. Oaths and laws were inflexible rules, to which those times conformed their conduct; and to wrest and accommodate them to one's own convenience and appetites by fallacious interpretations, was an art unheard of. *Sed nondum hæc, quæ nunc tenet, negligentia deûm venerat; nec interpretando sibi quisque iusjurandum & leges aptas faciebat, sed suos potius mores ad ea accommodabat.*

Quintius went farther. After having caused the ensigns to be brought from the temples: "That nobody," said he, "may rely upon the intrigues of the Tribunes whilst I am Consul, you may be assured that I shall not march back the army from the enemy's country, till the expiration of the term of my command. Therefore provide yourselves with all that is necessary, and prepare for encamping during the whole winter." This declaration struck the assembly with terror, and the more because the Consul's tenaciousness of his resolutions was known.

A report of another design that Quintius had was whispered about: this was, to call an assembly of the People at some leagues from the city, and to cause all that had been instituted at Rome by the violence of the Tribunes to be annulled in it. It was even said, that the Augurs had received orders to repair to the lake of Regillus, to prepare the place of the assembly with the

A. R. 294.
Ant. C.
458.

ceremonies necessary on that occasion. Now, in that case, the Tribunes could not oppose the resolutions taken in it: for their right of appeal did not extend above a mile from Rome. But what alarmed the People still more, was Quintius's often declaring, that when he quitted his office, he would not call an assembly for the election of Consuls: "That in the present extremity of affairs, the usual remedies did not suffice. That the commonwealth stood in need of a Dictator, whose supreme authority, from which there was no appeal, might give an immediate check to the bad designs of all who should undertake to disturb the tranquillity of the state."

The Tribunes seeing that the alarm was general, and that the discontent against them was upon the point of breaking out, repaired to the Senate, attended by a great number of the most considerable of the People. All of them, in despair on account of the evils that threatened them, implored with great cries the compassion, sometimes of the Consuls, and sometimes of the Senators. Quintius continued firm and inflexible, till the Tribunes promised to submit to what the Consul should require of them. At his request, the Senate then passed a decree in these terms: "That the Tribunes should neither pass the Law, nor the Consul make the army take the field, this year: That, as to the rest, the Senate judged it contrary to the good of the commonwealth, to continue the magistrates in their offices, and always to re-elect the same Tribunes."

The tumult being appeased, Quintius reinstated judiciary proceedings, which had been interrupted for many years. He rendered justice to all that applied for it, and terminated most disputes in an amicable manner. He continued the whole day at his tribunal, was always easy of access, and whatever the affair to be contested might be, acted in regard to every body with abundance of goodness and moderation. By so wise a conduct, he rendered the government of the nobility so agreeable, that the poor, the common people, and

and persons of the most contemptible condition, had no longer occasion either to have recourse to the Tribunes against the oppression of the powerful, or to demand new laws for the establishment of equality in trials, so much were they satisfied with that, which the Consul's equity observed to all alike, and his impartiality in all affairs.

A. R. 294.
Ant. C.
458.

So peaceful a government could not fail of applause; and the People in consequence expressed their entire satisfaction in it. But what most charmed them was, that Quintius, upon the expiration of his term, refused to be continued in office with no less constancy, than he had pain at first in accepting it. And indeed the Senate forgot nothing that might induce him to comply with being continued in the Consulship; and they were the more solicitous in that respect, because as the Tribunes had got themselves re-elected for the third time, they were very glad to oppose them with a person capable of striking them with respect and awe, and of preventing them from pursuing their attempts in favour of the new laws.

Quintius had not yet spoke with so much force and vehemence, as he did on this occasion. "Is it a wonder, said he, addressing himself to the Senators, that your authority should be despised by the People? It is yourselves that render it contemptible. Because the People violate your decree in continuing their magistrates, you are for doing the same, that you may not be outdone by them in temerity; as if to shew most levity and licence, were to have most power in the Commonwealth. For certainly there is more of both in violating one's own decrees, than in infringing those of others. Take my advice then, Fathers; imitate the indiscretion of the populace; and you, who ought to set others examples, do ill yourselves by following theirs, rather than teach them to do well by following yours. But as for me, that I may act directly the reverse to the Tribunes, I declare, that I will not suffer myself to be re-elected Consul, in contempt of your decree."

Then

A. R. 294.
Ant. C.
458.

Then addressing himself to his colleague; "I conjure you, Claudius, said he, to prevent the Senate from committing so gross a fault, and strenuously to oppose their design, if they persist in it; and as to what concerns yourself, I desire you to be assured, that far from taking offence at your opposition, as depriving me of an increase of honour, I shall consider it as a mark of your friendship for me, as an exaltation of my own glory in the proof of my disinterestedness, and as a singular favour, that will spare me the envy and shame which the continuation of the Consulship might otherwise draw upon me." It was necessary to comply with so express a resolution. The Senate prohibited the re-electing Quintius Consul, and declared, that if such prohibition did not take place, and the suffrages were in his favour, that no regard should be had to them. He was not elected.

With the highest praises and blessings, and become the object of the universal esteem, admiration, and love, Quintius divested himself of the purple, and made haste to return to his oxen, plow, and cottage, where he lived as before, by the labour of his hands.

Is there any thing wanting to the glory of Quintius? Can the greatest riches, the most superb palaces, the most sumptuous equipages, dispute pre-eminence with the poor thatch and rustic furniture of our illustrious Husbandman? Do they leave behind them in the minds of those that behold them, the same sentiments, as the simple relation of what regards Quintius gives the reader? Can one, however prejudiced in favour of vanity and glare, deny him one's esteem and admiration? There is then something truly great, noble, and worthy of esteem in the character of this Roman. What an happiness is it for a state, a province, a city, when those who have the administration of the government, approach, though at distance, the sentiments which we admire in Quintius! An inflexible constancy for supporting good order and discipline, tempered with a mildness and candour proper for gaining the affection
of

of the people. A wonderful art and ability in discerning and managing the passions. A conduct uniform, and always guided by reason, never by humour and caprice. A love of the public good, superior to all passions and prejudices. An universal disinterestedness, which never departs from itself. An indefatigable application to labour and the duties of his function, a resolution proof against all things in the administration of justice, and, above all, a tender and lively zeal for the defence of the poor, and the weak unjustly oppressed. Quintius, by these rare and excellent qualities, appeased tumult, and put a stop to licence during his Consulship, which others were not capable of effecting. States would enjoy perpetual tranquillity, were they governed by prudent, moderate, and equitable persons.

A. R. 294.
Ant. C.
458.

This year there was a Census: but it did not close with the usual ceremonies, upon account of the taking of the Capitol, and the Consul's death.

Q. FABIVS III.
L. CORNELIVS.

A. R. 295.
Ant. C.
457.

The domestic troubles began again under the new Consuls, but were suspended by the necessity the Romans were under of marching their troops in conjunction with those of the allies against the enemy, who had taken the field on different sides. The taking of Tusculum by the Æqui, very much affected the Romans, from the still recent remembrance of the zeal its inhabitants had shewn for Rome in a like danger, when the Capitol was taken. Immediate aid was sent them; but the enemy was retired before it arrived. The Roman arms were equally successful both against the Æqui and Volsci. The revolt of the Antiates was punished by the execution of the ring-leaders; and both Consuls were granted the honour of a triumph.

Dionys.
1. 10. p. 646
—652.
Liv. 1. 3.
C. 22---29.

The Tribunes, in their absence, had endeavoured to bring on the affair of the Laws: but it was deferred

A. R. 295.
Ant. C.
457.

red till their return, as well as the proceedings against Volscius, prosecuted by the Quæstors and several others, for false evidence in the trial of Cæso. Both those affairs were postponed till the following year.

The Tribunes were continued for the fourth time, notwithstanding all the endeavours of the Consuls to prevent it.

The Census was completed for the tenth time from the foundation of Rome; and the number of the citizens amounted to an hundred and thirty-two thousand and forty-nine.

A. R. 296.
Ant. C.
456.

L. MINUCIUS.

C. NAUTIUS II.

The People in the neighbourhood of Rome would not suffer it to remain in tranquillity. The two Consuls were obliged to take the field, Nautius against the Sabines, and Minucius against the Æqui. The first had some successes, but of small importance: the other rashly gave into an ambuscade laid for him, and entered a defile, from which he found it not in his power to retire. Having attempted in vain to open himself a way through the enemy, he was repulsed with considerable loss, and obliged to return to his camp, where Gracchus, the general of the Æqui, inclosed the Romans with a fossé and entrenchment, in hopes to oblige them by famine to lay down their arms, and surrender at discretion.

When this news came to Rome, it occasioned universal terror and alarm. Aid was immediately dispatched: but at a Council, wherein the principal persons of the Senate were present, it was concluded, that the Commonwealth stood in need of a Dictator, and the Consul Nautius, who had been sent for to Rome, nominated Quintius Cincinnatus in virtue of his office. Livy, who does not mention the plow and poverty of Cincinnatus at his being raised to the Consulship, interrupts his narration in this place, to awaken the attention of his readers by a reflection that is of all times

times and nations. * “ Let the blind admirers of
 “ fortune, who despise every thing in comparison with
 “ riches, and who think, that without them there is
 “ no real greatness and virtue, give ear to what we
 “ are now going to relate.”

A. R. 296.
 Ant. C.
 456.

Lucius Quintius, the sole hope of the Roman people, lived in the country on the other side of the Tiber, and passed his time in cultivating with his own hands a small piece of land of four acres, the only estate that had escaped the wreck of his fortune, and which has since been called The Meadow of Quintius. The deputies found him holding the plow in the same garb, as we have described him above when elected Consul. They saluted him Dictator, desired him to go to Rome, and told him in what condition the army was. A bark had been provided to carry him thither. On his landing he was met by his three sons, accompanied by many of his relations and friends, and by the greatest part of the Senate. Surrounded by this numerous train, and preceded by four-and-twenty Lictors, he repaired to his house. Upon his entrance into Rome, his first care was to harangue the People, in order to remove their fears. The next morning before light he nominated L. Tarquinius, general of the horse, a Patrician by birth ; but who, on account of his poverty, had always served in the foot, and had distinguished himself by his valour above all the young nobility. With him he repaired to the assembly, put a stop to judiciary proceedings, caused the shops to be shut up, and prohibited all work and labour whatsoever. This was the custom in times of great danger, in order that the citizens might attend solely to the safety of the state. He ordered all capable of bearing arms, to assemble before sun-set in the field of Mars, each with bread for five days, and twelve palisades. The old men, who were not in a condition to serve, were employed in baking bread for their neighbours ; and the soldiers

* Operæ pretium est audire, qui omnia præ divitiis humana spernunt, neque honori magno locum, neque virtuti putant esse, nisi ubi effusæ assuant opes.

A. R. 296. dispersed themselves on all sides in quest of stakes. At
 Ant. C. the time and place prefixed, all assembled, equipped
 456. as they had been commanded.

The Dictator at the head of the infantry, and Tarquitius at that of the horse, set out with the army, drawn up, not only for marching, but battle, in case of necessity. The officers and soldiers animated each other on their way by animadverting, "That it was necessary to make the utmost expedition, in order to come up with the enemy in the night. That the Consul and Roman army had now been besieged three days. That it was impossible to know what might happen every moment of the day or night. That the smallest part of time often determined the greatest events." The ardour of the troops, as well soldiers as officers, was inexpressible.

At length they arrived about the middle of the night near Algidum, a city in the country of the Latines, and halted when they perceived themselves not far from the enemy. The Dictator mounted on horseback, and having examined the form and extent of the camp of the Æqui, as much as the night would admit, he made his army extend itself around them, with orders to his soldiers to throw up an intrenchment before them, to fortify it with palisades, and to raise a great cry all together at the first signal that should be given. Those orders were punctually executed. The cries reached the camp of the enemy and that of the Consul at the same time, and carried with them terror and consternation to the one, and joy and confidence to the other. The Romans conceived that aid was arrived; and the Consul conjecturing it probable, that the action was begun, and that the enemy's camp was attacked on the side next the country, ordered his troops to take arms, and follow him: his design was to make a diversion. The battle began in the night, and by the cries which the Consul's troops raised on their side, the Dictator's Legions knew that they were engaged. The Æqui were preparing to prevent the workmen from carrying on their intrenchment, and from surrounding

rounding them, when the fear left the besieged, who had begun the attack, should break into their camp, obliged them to face on that side with almost all their forces, and to leave the workmen undisturbed during the rest of the night; for the Æqui fought till day-break with the Consul. They were by that time almost entirely enclosed by the Dictator, who presently after made his troops charge their camp. Attacked in this manner on all sides, and obliged to fight with both armies at once, they soon perceived that they were not in a condition to defend themselves, and asked quarter on both sides, imploring the Romans not to pursue their victory to the entire destruction of their nation. The Consul referred them to the Dictator, who answered their deputies, that he was willing to spare their blood, and grant them peace: but in order to draw from them a public confession, that their nation was conquered and subjected, he insisted that they should lay down their arms, and pass under the yoke. That as for Gracchus, author of the war, and the rest of their leaders, they should deliver them up bound hand and foot, in order to their being treated with the utmost rigour. The Æqui consenting to all he demanded, he required farther, that to make Tusculum amends, a city in alliance with the Roman People, which they had taken, plundered, and subjected without any previous injury from the inhabitants, they should give up Corbio to the Tusculans, to be plundered by way of reprisal. The deputies, to whom these answers had been given, returned soon after with Gracchus and the principal officers of their army in chains. The Æqui quitted their camp, without arms and almost without habits, passed in review before the Roman troops, according to the Dictator's orders, and one by one were made to pass under the yoke. The yoke was formed of two spears fixed in the earth, with a third laid across and fastened at the tops of them in the form of a gibbet: this was the highest infamy that could be inflicted on the vanquished. They afterwards surrendered the city of Corbio, as had been agreed.

A. R. 296.
Ant. C.
1456.

greed. The only favour they asked was, that the free inhabitants should be suffered to quit the place; and in exchange they released the prisoners taken at Tusculum.

The Dictator abandoned the whole camp of the enemy, which was very rich, only to his own troops. As to the army under the Consul Minucius, which had given way before the enemy, and had been repulsed into their camp, he thought it an extraordinary favour to remit them the punishment so shameful a cowardice had deserved. "You soldiers, * said he to them with a severe tone, who were upon the point of being the enemy's prey yourselves, shall have no share in their spoils." Then turning towards the Consul: "And as for you, L. Minucius, continued he, till you begin to have the spirit and ability of a Consul, you shall command these legions only as lieutenant." Minucius accordingly was obliged to divest himself of the Consulship. This was a most sensible affront for the troops, and a still greater for the general. But discipline was so religiously observed at that time, and people † submitted with so much docility to superior merit in authority, that this army, less sensible to the ignominy than the benefit they had received, both decreed the Dictator a crown of gold of a pound weight, and at his departure saluted him their patron and protector.

Quintius returned to Rome, where he received the honour of the most splendid triumph that had ever adorned any general's success, for having in the space of sixteen days, during which he had been invested with the Dictatorship, saved the Roman camp from the most evident danger; defeated and cut to pieces the army of the enemy; taken and plundered one of

* Carebis, inquit, prædæ parte, miles, ex eo hoste, cui prope prædæ fuisti. Et tu, L. Minuci, donec Consula rem animum incipias habere, Legatus his legionibus præeris. Liv.

† Sed adeo tum imperio meliori animus mansuetè obediens erat, ut beneficii magis quam ignominiae hic exercitus memor & coronam auream Dictatori librae pondo decreverit & proficiscentem eum patrum salutaverit. Liv.

their finest cities, and left a garrison in it; and lastly, gratefully repaid the Tusculans the service they had rendered Rome. The general, and the most considerable of the Æqui, walked in chains before his chariot; and the ensigns taken from them were carried before him. The army followed laden with booty. Tables were spread before all the houses. The soldiers, stopping sometimes at them, followed the chariot, making the whole city resound with acclamations of triumph, mingled with songs, in which the military liberty prevailed.

A. R. 296.
Ant. C.
456.

Methinks I see poverty enter Rome in triumph with Cincinnatus. It appears here clothed with purple, and with a pompous equipage: but it does not derive its lustre from them. It rather adorns that pomp, and exalts the splendor of the purple. The Dictator will soon return to his field and his labour: but he will neither be less great, nor less venerable in his humble, poor cottage, than he is now upon his car of victory. What force, what power has virtue!

* It lends its lustre to all that surrounds it, and imparts to every thing an irradiation of glory and magnificence. Whatever it touches, becomes amiable, conspicuous, admirable, notwithstanding an outside, that seems only proper to excite contempt.

The same day, by the unanimous consent of the People, the freedom of Rome was conferred on L. Mamilius of Tusculum. He had well deserved it by his zeal in aiding the Romans against Herdonius; but, however, their attention in discharging the duties of gratitude, which are often neglected, has something noble, and therefore most beautiful in it.

Quintius would have abdicated the Dictatorship directly, but for the affair of Volscius, which the Tribunes would have perpetually prevented from being tried, if the authority of the Dictator had not intervened. He was convicted of having given false evi-

* Quidquid attigit, in similitudinem sui adducit, & tingit---Interdum domos totas, quas intravit, disposuitque, condecorat. Quidquid tractavit, id amabile, conspicuum, mirabile facit. SENE. Epist. 66.

A. R. 296. dence by many incontestable proofs, amongst others;
 Ant. C. by Cæso's being proved to have been absent from
 456. Rome at the time he had accused him of committing
 a murder. The criminal was condemned to perpetual banishment; which was a small punishment for so black a calumny; and retired to Lanuvium. Cæso was recalled, and the Tribunes, who saw how much his father was esteemed and beloved by the People, did not dare to oppose so equitable a sentence.

Cic. pro
 domo sua.
 n. 86.

Quintius then, who had received the sovereign power of Dictator for six months, renounced it at the expiration of sixteen days in the presence of the whole People, after having rendered them an account of his administration.

He carried his generosity still farther. The Senate having offered him as much of the lands he had conquered, as he should think fit to accept, with as many slaves and cattle as were necessary to stock them; and on another side his relations and friends, who had nothing more at heart than to procure a more easy fortune for a person of his great merit, having used their utmost endeavours to prevail upon him to receive some presents, he returned them his thanks in terms of great acknowledgment, but would accept of nothing. He had no passion nor desire beyond the field he cultivated, and the laborious life he had embraced: more glorious and contented with his poverty, than the richest with their treasures.

We may observe here that the shining examples exhibited by Quintius, his love of poverty, his laborious industry in cultivating his field, his sober and frugal life, his zeal for serving his country without reward, his constant refusal to accept lands that might augment his revenue; these, I say, were then the manners of the public, and constituted the character of the Roman people. Examples of this kind made so profound an impression upon them, that, in the latter times, when corruption prevailed, and even under the Emperors, the same virtues were esteemed in the persons

persons who practised them : which is a circumstance not observed of any other people.

The Tribunes of the People were continued for the fifth time.

Q. MINUCIUS.

A. R. 297.

C. HORATIUS.

Ant. C.

455.

The Æqui and Sabines took the field again. They Dion. l. 10. p. 652 ravaged the lands of the Romans and allies with a boldness and insolence, which gave cause to apprehend for Rome itself. The Consuls decreed, that the levies should be made, which the Tribunes, according to their custom, did not fail to oppose. Quintius, who had been Dictator the year before, and was returned from the country, was of opinion, that, in case the Tribunes should persist in their opposition, the Consuls, and all the Patricians with their clients and friends, should take arms, and march against the enemy. He was persuaded, that their example would bring over a great number of the citizens, and excite the zeal of all those who had a sincere regard for the public good. He added, that for his part he should be one of the first to join in that glorious undertaking, and hoped that he should find in his zeal for his country the pristine vigour of his youth.

The advice of Quintius being universally approved, all the Senators, after having returned home, and armed themselves, repaired with their children, clients, and friends, to the Forum, whither the Consul C. Horatius had summoned the assembly. The sight of so many venerable old men, who generously devoted themselves for the preservation of the Commonwealth, made a lively impression upon the People, and drew tears from the eyes of almost all that were present. The Tribunes saw plainly, that they were upon the point of being abandoned, and gave the Consuls to understand, that they had a new proposal to make, which perhaps would not displease the Senate, and might reconcile every thing.

A. R. 297.
Ant. C.
455.

The Senate assembled in consequence. The Tribunes, who were admitted, declared, they would consent that the levy should be made, upon condition, that instead of five, ten Tribunes should be created every year for the future. This new creation did not seem at first of any prejudice to the Commonwealth. Claudius, however, strongly opposed it, and shewed in few words, that it was not to be expected the People would become more docile and tractable, when their magistrates were multiplied; and that so far from it, it would only make them more savage and insolent. Quintius, whose authority was so highly respected, affirmed on the contrary, that to increase the number of the Tribunes, would be of advantage to the Senate, because the more there were of them, the less would be their union amongst the selves. This opinion prevailed, and was confirmed by a decree of the Senate, which permitted the People to create ten Tribunes annually, but upon condition, that none who were in that office at present, should be re-elected the first year. The People, to prevent all cavil and debate that might arise upon that head when the war was over, assembled immediately, and nominated the ten Tribunes. This change was made thirty-six years after the first institution of that office.

The Consuls immediately marched against the enemy, and defeated them without difficulty.

A. R. 298.
Ant. C.
454.

M. VALERIUS.

SP. VIRGINIUS.

The Roman People had no war abroad during this year, but disputes were renewed at home. Icilius, one of the Tribunes, demanded, that ground upon mount Aventine should be granted to the People to build upon. This hill, of no great height, and about twelve stadia in circumference, (something more than half a league) was inclosed within the walls of the city, but was not entirely inhabited: there was a void space upon it planted with trees, which served for the convenience of the public. As the Consuls deferred answering,

answering, and endeavoured to gain time, the Tribune dispatched a Serjeant to the Consuls to command them in his name to assemble the Senate immediately, and to repair to it themselves without delay. The Consuls, enraged at so bold and so new a proceeding, ordered the Serjeant, who brought those orders, to be driven away with stripes by a Licitor. Icilius and his colleagues, offended at that insult, seized the Licitor, and dragged him away in order to put him to death. The Senate, being unwilling to use violence, endeavoured to bring over some one of the Tribunes. But Icilius had been beforehand with them, and had made the Tribunes swear, that none of them would oppose the proceedings of their colleagues, their whole strength consisting in their union. However, at the request of the magistrates they released the Licitor. The Senate at length consented, that the law should pass. It was, “That the estates legally acquired by particulars upon mount Aventine, should continue in their possession: that those who should be discovered to have built upon ground usurped either by fraud or force, should be obliged to restore it for the use of the People, upon being reimbursed the expences they had been at in building, according to estimates to be taken by proper persons: that the rest of the ground, which belonged to the public, should be distributed amongst the People, without any demand on that account.”

There was nothing unreasonable in this Law, and the Senate ought to have passed it of their own accord, and to have prevented the Tribune's demand: but the People obtained nothing from them, but at the point of the sword, the opposition was so great, and become in a manner natural between the two Orders. After the publication of the Law, the Plebeians assembled, and drew lots for the pieces of ground, which had been granted them. Every one built according to his power. Some joined two or three together, and erected an house at their common expence, of which the one had the first, and the others the other stories. This whole year passed in building, which the number

A. R. 298.
Ant. C.
454.

A. R. 298. of the citizens, that continually augmented, made
Ant. C. necessary.
454.

But what gave the authority of the Consuls a considerable wound in this dispute, was, that the Tribunes, after the example of Icilius, retained the power of assembling the Senate, though at their institution they did not presume to enter into so august a place, without being called in, and used to wait in the porch, till they were informed of the resolutions of the Fathers.

Val. Max.
l. 2. c. 2.

The same Tribunes of the People were continued.

A. R. 299.
Ant. C.
453.

T. ROMILIUS.

C. VETURIUS.

Rome had been for some years a perpetual scene of revolutions. Concord and Division alternately succeeded each other. Unity prevailed in the city, whilst there was war abroad; and as soon as peace was restored, the domestic troubles took place again. They were very violent from the beginning of this year.

The Tribunes brought on more vigorously than ever the affair of the Agrarian Laws, which had been suspended for thirty years, and that of the New Laws, the institution of which had been demanded during a considerable length of time. The day appointed for the Assembly being arrived, the Tribunes began with the Agrarian Laws. After having expatiated on their justice and necessity, they left every one that thought fit at liberty to speak in favour of those Laws. Many presented themselves, and repeated the great services they had done in war. They exclaimed, that it was highly shameful they should have no part of the many lands which they had taken from the enemy, and that all those new inheritances, that of right appertained to the public, should be possessed by rich particulars, whose credit and violence were the only titles they could pretend for enjoying them. They demanded, that as they shared with the Patricians in the labours and dangers, in which the occasions and interests of the Commonwealth engaged them, they might also
share

share with them in the advantages and comforts accruing from them.

A. R. 299.
Ant. C.
453.

The People heard these discourses with pleasure: but nothing affected them so much as the speech of L. Siccus, surnamed Dentatus. He was of an advantageous stature and person, retained all his strength and vigour, though fifty-eight years of age; was a man of sense and prudence, and sufficiently eloquent for a soldier. He advanced into the midst of the assembly, and spoke to the following effect. "I should never make an end, Romans, were I to recount the particulars of all that I have done for the service and glory of this Commonwealth. To avoid being tedious, I shall only repeat in few words the principal actions of my life. This is the fortieth year that I have served my country, and the thirtieth that I have been an officer, sometimes at the head of a battalion, and sometimes as commander of a Legion. During the forty years that I have carried arms, I have been in twenty-six battles; I have received forty-five wounds, all honourable, and none that I have reason to be ashamed of. I received twelve in one day, when Herdonius had seized the Capitol. I have been in few battles, without bringing off the prize (1) of valour. I have been crown-

Dionys.
l. 10.

(1) Kennet, in his *Roman Antiquities*, (Part II. c. 16.) gives the following account of the military rewards mentioned here, which it was thought proper to insert at length in this place.

The encouragement of valour and industry was much more considerable than the proceedings against the contrary vices. The most considerable (not to speak of the Promotion from one station to another, nor of the occasional donatives in money, distinguished by this name from the largesses bestowed on the common People, and termed *Congarij*) were, first, the *Dona Imperatoria*; such as

The *Hasta pura*, a fine spear of wood without any iron on it; such an one as Virgil has given Sylvius in the sixth book of the *Æneids*, ver. 760.

Ille, vides? pura juvenis qui nititur hasta.

This present was usually bestowed on him, who in some little skirmish had killed an enemy, engaging him hand to hand. They were reckoned very honourable gifts, and the Gods are commonly represented with such spears on the old coins. Mr. Walker derives hence the custom of our great officers carrying white rods or staves, as ensigns of their places.

A. R. 299. " ed fourteen times by as many citizens, whose lives I
 Ant. C. " had saved on different occasions. I have obtained the
 453. " crown

The *Armillaë*, a sort of bracelets, given upon account of eminent service, only to such as were born Romans.

The *Torques*, golden and silver collars, wreathed with curious art and beauty. Pliny attributes the golden collars to the auxiliaries, and the silver to the Roman soldiers; but this is supposed to be a mistake.

The *Phaleræ*, commonly thought to be a suit of rich trappings for a horse, but, because we find them bestowed on the foot as well as the cavalry, we may rather suppose them to have been golden chains of like nature with the *Torques*, only that they seem to have hung down to the breast; whereas the others went only round the neck. The hopes of these two last are particularly urged, among the advantages of a military life, by Juvenal, Sat. XVI. ver. 60.

Ut lati phaleris omnes, & torquibus omnes.

The *Vexilla*, a sort of banners of different colour, worked in silk, or other curious materials, such as Augustus bestowed on Agrippa, after he had won the battle of Actium.

Next to these were the several coronets received on various occasions. As,

Corona Civica, given to any soldier that had saved the life of a Roman citizen in an engagement. This was reckoned more honourable than any other crown, though composed of no better materials than oaken boughs. Virgil calls it *Civilis Quercus*, *Æn.* VI. ver. 772.

Atque umbrata gerunt civili tempora quercu.

Plutarch has guessed very happily at the reason why the branches of this tree should be made use of before all others. For the oaken wreath, says he, being otherwise sacred to Jupiter, the great guardian of their city; they might therefore think it the most proper ornament for him who had preserved a citizen. Besides, the oak may very well claim the preference in this case; because in the primitive times, that tree alone was thought almost sufficient for the preserving of man's life: Its acorns were the principal diet of the old mortals, and the honey, which was commonly found there, presented them with a very pleasant * liquor.

It was a particular honour conferred on the persons who had merited this crown, that, when they came to any of the public shows, the whole company, as well Senate as People, should signify their respect, by rising up when they saw them enter; and that they should take their seat on these occasions amongst the Senators; being also excused from all troublesome duties and services in their own persons, and procuring the same immunity for their father, and grandfather by his side. †

Corona Muralis, given to him who first scaled the walls of a city in a general assault; and therefore in the shape of it there was some allusion made to the figure of a wall.

Corona Castrensis, or *Vallaris*, the reward of him who had forced the enemy's intrenchments.

Corona Navalis, bestowed on such as had signalized their valour in an engagement at sea; being set round with figures like beaks of ships.

—Cui belli insigne superbum

Tempora navali fulgent rostrata corona.

VIRG. *Æn.* VIII. ver. 684.

* Vide Plutarch, in Coriolan.

† Vide Plin. l. 16. c. 4.

Lipsius

“ crown Obsidionalis, after having obliged the ene-
 “ my to raise a siege. I have been three times re-
 “ warded with the mural crown, for having been the
 “ first upon the enemy’s walls. I have had eight
 “ more, given me by the generals of our armies, for
 “ having re-taken the ensigns of the Legions from
 “ the enemy. Amongst the proofs of my valour, I
 “ reckon fourscore and three gold chains, sixty brace-
 “ lets of the same metal, eighteen spears, and twenty-
 “ five suits of armour, of which nine were taken from
 “ as many enemies conquered in single combat. How-
 “ ever, Romans, this Siccus, who has no part of his
 “ body, that is not covered with scars, who, at the
 “ price of his sweat and blood, with his brave fellow-
 “ soldiers, has acquired for his country so many rich
 “ territories from the Etrusci, Sabines, Æqui, Volsci,
 “ people of Pometia, and other enemies of the Ro-
 “ man name; this Siccus, I say, does not possess a
 “ single inch of land, no more than you, Romans,
 “ who have been the companions of his labours.
 “ The finest and best part of those inheritances are in
 “ the hands of citizens, whose insatiable avidity we all
 “ know, who have enjoyed them for many years, with-

A. R. 299.
 Ant. C.
 453.

Lipſius fancies the Corona Navalis and the Roſtrata, to have been two diſtinct ſpecies, though they are generally believed to be the ſame kind of crown.

Corona Obſidionalis: This was not like the reſt, given by the general to the ſoldiers, but preſented by the common conſent of the ſoldiers to the general, when he had delivered the Romans or their allies from a ſiege. It was compoſed of the graſs growing in the beſieged place.

Corona Triumphalis, made with wreaths of laurel, and proper only to ſuch generals as had the honour of a triumph. In after-ages this was changed for gold, [Aurum Coronarium] and not reſtrained only to thoſe that actually triumphed, but preſented on ſeveral other accounts, as commonly by the foreign States and Provinces to their patron and benefactors. Several of the other crowns too are thought to have been of gold; as the Caſtrenſis, the Mural, and the Naval.

Befides theſe, we meet with the Coronæ aureæ, often beſtowed on ſoldiers without any other additional term.

And Dion Caſſius mentions a particular ſort of coronet made with olive boughs, and beſtowed like the reſt, in conſideration of ſome ſignal act of valour.

Lipſius believes theſe to have ſucceeded in the room of the golden crowns, after the latter were laid aſide.

A. R. 299. " out having received them from you, without hav-
 Ant. C. " ing paid any price for them, and without being able
 453. " to shew any title for so unjust a possession. Let them,
 " those haughty Patricians, whose sole merit consists
 " in the nobility of their origin, and the recommen-
 " dation of their names, let them instance the glori-
 " ous exploits which give them the preference to me,
 " and deserve a reward of which I am not worthy.
 " Suffer your patience to be insulted no longer, Ro-
 " mans. Shew that you are not ignorant of merit,
 " and that you know how to reward those, who devote
 " themselves to your service."

The enumeration which we find in this speech of the military rewards of the Romans, is very remarkable, and certainly merits great attention. How much must such marks of honour have exalted the valour of the troops, and inspired the soldiery with noble sentiments! Instead of which, they are generally kept amongst us in an abject and infamous state, and all their services are forgotten.

The People were so much moved with the discourse of Siccus, and conceived such indignation against his opponents, that they would no longer give ear to any reply. The demand of the Tribune in this point, seemed in effect so well founded in justice, that it was thought impossible to oppose it with any colour of reason, and the People could scarce consider the tenacious resistance of the Senate in any other manner, than as a notorious refusal of justice, and a partiality entirely to be condemned. So venerable a Body, composed of so many persons of well known prudence and virtue, must however undoubtedly have had strong reasons for acting as they did. The possession of lands belonging to the public might be unjust as to its origin, at which time it both might and ought to have been remedied. But, as the Abbé Vertot observes, a new partition would have been attended with great difficulties. For that effect, it would have been necessary to have discovered, and established, an exact distinction between the antient patrimony of every individual,
 and

and what additions had been made to it from the lands of the public. It would even have been necessary to have extended that distinction so as to have decided between the districts of the public domains which the Patricians had purchased, and those which they had taken at first only under the title of the Censur, either in their own, or in borrowed, names; and which they had afterwards confounded, as part of the Plebeians had also, in their peculiar patrimonies. A long prescription made it next to impossible to trace these different usurpations by the strictest enquiries. The Patricians had since divided those lands amongst their children as their patrimony; which lands, become hereditary, had passed into different houses, either by title of inheritance, or by sale and acquisition. It seemed therefore impossible to proceed in this affair, without great injustice to many persons in actual possession of these lands, who had really bought them, and without occasioning great and universal commotions in the commonwealth. These, without doubt, are the reasons that induced the Senate to oppose the establishment of the Agrarian Laws so obstinately. The great inconveniences of those Laws evidenced themselves in the most distinguished manner under the Gracchi, who, by renewing them, plunged all Italy in trouble and confusion.

The Senate opposed them on the present occasion with more constancy than ever. Many assemblies were held on this subject, in which nothing could be concluded, they were so tumultuous. The Tribunes, or at least their officers, were sometimes roughly handled by the young Patricians. Those who expressed most zeal for the Consuls in this conjuncture, were the Postumii, the Sempronii, and the Clœlii, three Patrician families highly distinguished by their birth, riches, the great number of their creatures, and the fame of their great actions. It was generally believed owing to them that the Agrarian Laws were not confirmed by an ordinance of the People.

A. R. 299.
Ant. C.
453.

A. R. 299.
Ant. C.
453.

Accordingly it was against them only the Tribunes directed their resentment. They cited them to appear before the People, to render them an account of their conduct. Some were for proceeding against them with the utmost rigour, in order to intimidate the Patricians: but the majority were more mildly inclined. The pretended criminals, having failed to appear at the day assigned them, and suffered themselves to be condemned by default, had a fine laid on them. The Patricians returned them the sums they paid, out of the public money.

Soon after, advice came that the Æqui had made an irruption into the territory of the Tusculans, and that their city was in danger. It was thought shameful to defer aiding a people, who suffered only on account of their attachment to the Romans. The two Consuls set out at the head of a numerous army, that followed them notwithstanding the opposition of the Tribunes. Siccus was in it, and commanded a body of eight hundred men, whom their age exempted, as well as himself, from the service. He both gave good counsels, and rendered great services, to the Consuls: who, far from expressing any gratitude to him on those accounts, were suspected of having sought to destroy him by a dangerous commission (1) which they gave

(1) That dangerous commission was given Siccus by the Consuls, with design to destroy him and his veterans, upon account of his late conduct in favour of the Agrarian Law. It was to attack the enemy's camp upon an hill by a way, where, as he represented, it was next to impossible to avoid being cut off. However, the Consul insisting upon his obedience, upon pain of being dismissed the service with shame, he complied, marched by a different way round the hill, and whilst the two armies were engaged upon the plain, surprized the enemy's camp, put the troops in it to the sword, and then charged the army of the Æqui in the rear, which completed the victory.

Siccus, at night, when the slaughter was over, retired to the enemy's camp without having lost a man; where, by the consent of his veterans, he killed the prisoners and horses, and burnt the tents, arms, and baggage; leaving none of the marks of victory necessary in a triumph. He then set out for Rome with his battalion, and by his remonstrances in the assembly, concerning the design of the Consuls to destroy him and the veterans, prevented them from being granted a triumph. See DIONYS. l. 10.

Mr. Rollin has followed Livy here, who to the surprize of many, says nothing of Siccus Dentatus, till his murder by the Decemvirs.

him

him to execute, and from which he extricated himself solely by his valour and conduct. The Æqui were defeated in a battle, wherein they had above seven thousand men killed. The rest were put to flight, and great spoils were taken. The Consuls caused them to be sold for the benefit of the public treasury, which was entirely exhausted.

SP. TARPEIUS.

A. ATERIUS.

A. R. 300.

Ant. C.

452.

Siccus, who was chosen Tribune, on the same day that he took possession of his office; cited Romilius, one of the Consuls of the last year, before the People. The Edile Allienus did the same in respect to Veturius, Romilius's colleague. Both were fined.

S E C T. III.

The Tribunes of the People solicit the passing of the Law Terentilla. In consequence, deputies are at length sent into Greece, to collect such laws as they should judge most agreeable to the customs and manners of the Romans. On their return, ten commissioners, under the name of Decemviri, are elected to reduce those laws into form. Appius is at the head of them. They prepare ten Tables of laws, which after mature examination are accepted and confirmed by the People. New Decemvirs are chosen, with Appius still at the head of them, to add a supplement to those laws. Two tables are drawn up to be annexed to the former ten. The third year the Decemvirs continue themselves in their office, and commit all kinds of violence. The Sabines and Æqui take the field against the Romans: difficulties about levying the army. Siccus is killed by order of the Decemvirs. Appius endeavours to get possession of Virginia. Her father, to preserve her from infamy, is reduced to kill her with his own hand. The two armies revolt, and retire first to mount Aventine, and afterwards to the Sacred Mountain. The Decemvirs are reduced to quit their office.

office. Peace is re-established. Tribunes of the People are chosen. The new Consuls pass laws highly in favour of the People. Appius is cited to take his trial, and sent to prison, where he and Oppius die. The rest of the Decemvirs are banished. The XII Tables of Laws are ratified by the People in assemblies wherein the Consuls preside.

SP. TARPEIUS.

A. ATERIUS.

A. R. 300.
Ant. C.

452.
Dionys.
l. 10. p. 673
—680.

Liv. l. 3.
c. 32.

THE Romans, as we have said already, had hardly any fixed and certain Laws, so that the Consuls, and the Senators commissioned to act as judges either in their stead or in conjunction with them, were absolute arbiters of the fate of the citizens. Terentillus, a Tribune of the People, had proposed a law several years before, by which it was ordained, that instead of the arbitrary judgments rendered by the magistrates, laws should be instituted to serve as the rules of Right in the commonwealth, as well in respect to the government and public affairs, as the differences between private persons.

The Tribunes of the People actually in office solicited the execution of the law Terentilla with abundance of force and vivacity. The Senate, tired at length with contending, decreed, “ That ambassadors should be sent to the several people descended from the Greeks and settled in Italy, and also to Athens. That after having examined the laws of those countries, they should collect such of them as they should judge most agreeable to the present constitution of the Roman commonwealth. That at their return, the Consuls should deliberate with the Senate upon the choice of legislators, of the power to be confided to them, and the time they were to continue in office.” This was immediately put in execution. Sp. Postumius, Servius Sulpicius, and A. Manlius, three persons of Consular dignity, were appointed deputies. Three galleys were fitted out for them at the public

ex-

expenditure, of a magnificence that might do honour to the Roman people.

P. CURIATIUS.

SEXT. QUINTILIUS.

A. R. 301.
Ant. C.
451.

This year was remarkable for a dreadful plague, that raged in the city of Rome and the neighbouring country. It carried off almost all the slaves, and half the citizens, neither the * physicians, nor their relations, being able to assist them, because as soon as people approached the sick, they were seized with the distemper. It also swept off a great number of the magistrates, and amongst the rest Quintilius, one of the Consuls. The plague, which had occasioned the cultivation of the lands to be neglected, was followed by a famine.

C. MENENIUS.

P. SESTIUS CAPITOLINUS.

A. R. 302.
Ant. C.
450.

The deputies, sent to collect the laws of Greece, were returned from thence, and the Tribunes pressed the Senate warmly to proceed to the great affair of the laws. The Consul Menenius, to whom this change was very disagreeable, but who was afraid to oppose it openly, used evasion, and caused it to be represented, (for a real or pretended illness kept him at home) that as this great affair was to be transacted under the next Consuls, decency, and even justice, required, that nothing should be done in it, till they were nominated. He was in hopes, that the election of Consuls might suspend that of Decemvirs, which was much talked of. The eagerness of the Tribunes occasioned the hastening of the assemblies for that purpose. Appius Claudius, whose ancestors had always been firmly attached to the Senate, was elected Consul, and had T. Genutius for his colleague.

That obstacle being removed, the Senate assembled, and came to a resolution, that Decemviri should be

* According to Pliny, l. 29, c. 1. it was not till the 535th year of Rome, that a physician came thither from Greece. But the authority of Dionys. Hal. is to be preferred.

A. R. 302.
Ant. C.
450.

elected out of the most considerable Senators, whose authority should continue for one year, to commence from the day of their election: that they should govern the commonwealth with the same power as the Consuls then had, and as the Kings were formerly invested with, “but without any appeal from their judgments, which gave them an exorbitant power; that they should take cognizance of all affairs as well public as private; that all other magistrates, and even the Tribuneship, of which the People were so jealous, and in which their whole strength consisted, should be abolished; and that all persons in office should abdicate their authority.” This decree was received with great applauses by the People. The two Consuls nominated for the ensuing year were the first that set the example of abdicating. An assembly was immediately held by Centuries, in which the new magistrates were created.

Thus in the three hundred and second year from the foundation of the city, the government was changed for the second time, and all authority transferred from the Consuls to Decemvirs, as it had been from the Kings to the Consuls: but this last change was of very short duration.

It is not easy to comprehend, how the Senate and People could unite in creating ten magistrates with sovereign authority, and abolishing all other magistrates, without any difficulty or opposition arising on that head. I am less surprized at this on the side of the People. I know they had long demanded a Body of laws; that they detested the name and power of the Consuls; and that therefore they consented to the institution of a new Magistracy. I know also that the Senate, on their side, abhorred the Tribunes, and flattered themselves with the hope of abolishing their power by setting up that of the Decemvirs, who were all chosen out of their order. But, besides that this hope was without any solid foundation or probability, did the Senate perceive no inconvenience, no danger, in this new institution? To appoint ten commissioners
out

out of that august body, in order to their applying themselves in concert to the intended collection of laws, nothing could be wiser. But wherefore were all other magistrates to be abolished? Why were these to be invested with sovereign and (1) unlimited power? Of what use could it be to them in preparing a new Body of laws, which were not to be imposed on the People by way of force and authority, but to be submitted to their judgment, and not to be accepted by them, till after long and serious examination? An annual power, without any limits, is a great temptation; and the Senate, so full of wisdom and foresight as it was, ought to have apprehended the consequences of it.

A. R. 302.
Ant. C.
450.

APPIUS CLAUDIUS.

T. GENUTIUS.

A. R. 302;
Ant. C.
450.

P. SESTIUS, &c. Decemviri.

The DECEMVIRS created by the People for the first time, were Appius Claudius and T. Genutius, who had been nominated Consuls for the year following; P. Sestius, Consul for the current year; Sp. Postumius, Serv. Sulpicius, A. Manlius, who had been sent into Greece and had brought back the laws; and T. Romilius, whom Siccus had cited before the People, and who had regained their favour by changing his sentiments: the other three were C. Julius, L. Veturius, and P. Horatius. All these Decemvirs were Senators of Consular dignity. The Tribunes, Ædiles, Quæstors, and all other magistrates of antient institution, were abolished.

Dionys.
l. 10. p. 680.
—684.
Liv. l. 3.
c. 32---34.

On the expiration of the year, the Decemvirs created for the institution of laws, took possession of the government, and began to give a new form to the commonwealth. Only one of them had the twelve fasces (rods and axes) borne before him, and the other

A. R. 303;
Ant. C.
449.

(1) There was one limitation of their power: that they should make no alteration in the law of the Mons Sacer, for creating of Tribunes; nor in the Icilian law, by which it was made penal to interrupt them in the assemblies.

A. R. 303.
Ant. C.
449.

ensigns of Consular authority. His function was to assemble the Senate, to cause its resolutions to be put in execution, and to discharge the other duties, that naturally appertained to the supreme magistrate. The other Decemvirs, to avoid giving the People any jealousy of their power, had nothing to distinguish them from the rest of the citizens, except a single Officer, called Accensus, who walked before each of them. The authority of him that presided, continued only a day, according to Livy, after which another took his place; and to the end of the year they succeeded each other as presidents in their turns.

In the morning, they all went to their tribunal, where they took cognizance of all contracts with the commonwealth, and between private persons. They decided disputes in respect to affairs as well within doors as without, of people in subjection to the commonwealth, as well as of allies and states, whom there was cause to distrust. Justice was rendered with all possible exactness and equity, and every body departed from this tribunal with equal satisfaction.

Nothing was more agreeable than the regard they expressed for the people's interests, and the protection, which the meanest of them found against the oppression of the Great: so that it was generally affirmed in Rome, that there was no longer any occasion for the Tribunes or other magistrates; so much was the wisdom and moderation of this new government admired. What an happiness would it be for a state to be always governed in this manner! What peace, what tranquillity, would the public and individuals enjoy! What consolation, what glory, would such an exercise of power be to princes and magistrates! And how happens it, that persons in authority are so little sensible to so refined, so serene an enjoyment?

Amongst all the Decemvirs, Appius engrossed the whole glory of the administration in the judgment of the People; and it might be said in some sense, that the whole authority of this magistracy vested in him, by the ascendant he had assumed over his colleagues,
and

and the People at the same time. He had not only found the secret to distinguish himself peculiarly in what he transacted in concert with the other Decemvirs; but the mildness and affability, with which he descended to the occasions of the meanest and weakest of the citizens, and his attention in saluting and calling them by their names, had gained him all hearts. * He had till then been the declared enemy of the Plebeians. His disposition, naturally cruel and violent, through the hatred he had conceived for them, rose even to ferocity. But on a sudden he was become another man, and entirely different from what he had been before: he was obliging, humane, popular, and solely intent upon pleasing the multitude, and acquiring their affection.

A. R. 303.
Ant. C.
449.

So prudent a conduct made every body relish the government of the Decemvirs during the first year. The perfect union that prevailed amongst themselves, far from being prejudicial to particulars, as it too often happens, was attended with entire equity in regard to all the citizens†. But this joy was short-lived, and cost dear, as we shall soon see.

The Decemvirs applied themselves industriously during the whole year in preparing their Body of Laws, which they extracted partly from the Ordinances of the Kings of Rome, and partly from what had been borrowed from the laws of Greece, which were interpreted for them by one Hermodorus (1), a man of great worth, and one of the principal persons of Ephesus, who, having been banished from his country, happened at that time to be at Rome. Pliny informs us, that a statue was erected in honour of him in the Forum. When they had completed their work, they caused it to be

Cic. Tusc.
l. 5. p. 105.
Strab.
l. 14.
p. 642.
Plin. l. 34.
c. 5.

* Regimen totius magistratus penes Appium erat, favore plebis: adeoque novum sibi ingenium induerat, ut plebicola repente, omnifquæ auræ popularis captator evaderet, pro truci sævoque insectatore plebis. Liv.

† Læta principia magistratus ejus nimis luxuriavere. Liv.

(1) Strabo says, Lib. 14. that Heraclitus wrote a letter to congratulate this Hermodorus upon his share in compiling the Roman laws: to which he added, that in a dream he had seen all the nations of the earth prostrating themselves before these laws after the Persian manner.

A. R. 303.
Ant. C.
449.

engraved upon ten tables, which they submitted to the judgment of all the citizens. When they presented them in the assembly of the People, who expected them with impatience, they said, "That they had laboured, to the utmost of their capacity, to make laws equally in favour of Great and Small: but that the reflections and remarks of a great number of persons might much improve them. They therefore exhorted the citizens to examine each article maturely in their private capacity; then to confer together upon them, and to impart to them (the Decemvirs) whatever they should conceive it necessary to add or retrench*. That in consequence, the Roman People would have laws, which they could not so properly be said to have accepted and confirmed, as to have dictated and composed themselves."

They were accordingly long exposed to the view of the public, which had sufficient leisure to examine them, and to hear the opinions of the wisest persons upon them: the sure and only means of giving laws a fixed and permanent authority. When there remained nothing farther to except against, and every body appeared satisfied, the Senate first approved them by a decree. They were afterwards carried to the assembly, (called *Comitia Centuriata*) where the People distributed by Centuries, in the presence of the Pontiffs, Augurs, and other ministers of divine worship, who had performed the usual ceremonies, had the liberty of giving their suffrages. These laws, thus ratified by the unanimous consent of the whole Roman People, were engraved upon pillars of brass, and placed in the most conspicuous part of the Forum†. Those tables, says Livy, even in the present immense heap of laws accumulated upon one another, are still the source of all public and private Right.

* *Eas leges habiturum populum Romanum, quas consensus omnium, non jussisse latas magis, quam tulisse videri posset. Liv.*

† *Decem tabularum leges perlatæ sunt: qui nunc quoque in hoc immenso aliarum super alias acervatarum legum cumulo, fons omnis publici privatique est juris.*

As the government of the Decemvirs was upon the point of expiring, they proposed to the Senate to deliberate upon what kind of magistracy it was necessary to establish for the future. After hearing many reasons on both sides, they at length agreed with the opinion of those who were for creating new Decemvirs, and for continuing the administration of the commonwealth in their hands. It was believed that some laws were still wanting to those which had lately been made; that a year had been too short a space of time for giving so great a work its final perfection; and that to put the execution of those laws on foot, and to cause them to be inviolably observed by all the world, the independent and sovereign authority of the same magistracy which had prepared them, was requisite. Such was the result of several deliberations, which was the more generally approved, from the Senate's seeing themselves still delivered thereby from the power of the Tribunes, and the People from Consuls, whose authority was become almost as odious to them as that of Kings.

When the day of the assembly for the election of new Decemvirs was appointed, the city was in a much greater and more general ferment than had ever been known upon a like occasion. The Senators most distinguished by their age and merit demanded that office, apprehending, no doubt, that if they did not offer themselves, factious and turbulent persons might be invested with it, and occasion considerable prejudice to the commonwealth. Appius, who secretly designed to have himself continued, seeing those great persons, who had passed through all dignities, so warm in the pursuit of This, was seriously alarmed at it. The People, charmed with his past conduct whilst Decemvir, openly professed their desire to continue him in it, preferably to all others. He at first affected a repugnance to charging himself a second time with a laborious employment, so capable of exciting jealousy against him; and to inspire his colleagues with the design of renouncing it, he publicly declared, that

Liv. l. 3.
c. 35—37.

A.R. 303.
Ant. C.
449.

as they had discharged all the duties of good citizens by their assiduous cares for an whole year, it was just to grant them repose and successors. The more difficult he appeared, the more he was solicited to comply with the desires and wishes of the whole city. He at length pretended to yield with pain and reluctance to the instances of the multitude. He exceeded all his competitors for this office in address, artifice, and management. In the Forum, he was seen saluting one, giving his hand to another, and walking erect in the midst of the Duilii and Icilii, those chiefs of the People, and to use the expression, props of the Tribuneship, and making his court to the multitude by their means *. The more false and contrary to his character those popular condescensions were, the more he affected to multiply them; in order, if possible, to make them appear natural and probable: but in that he much deceived himself. For his colleagues, who till then had been entirely at his devotion, began to open their eyes, and conceived, that such abandoned civilities and abject submissions were not without design from a man naturally proud and haughty.

They however did not venture to oppose his views in a direct manner: they had recourse to a stratagem, which, they imagined, might prove successful. This was to chuse him, as the youngest amongst them, to preside in the assembly. It was the custom for the president to name the persons who aspired at Offices to be filled up. They reckoned by this means to put it out of his power to name himself, which had never been done, except by the Tribunes of the People, and that not without giving great offence, as a practice repugnant to decency and the modesty necessary in public affairs. Weak barriers against ambition! Appius accepted the offer with joy, and well knew how to turn the obstacles laid in his way into the means of success. Not contented with causing himself to be elected, he took pains to make the choice of the People for the

* *Quantò magis falsa erant quæ fiebant, tantò plura facere.* TACIT. Hist. l. 45.

other nine places fall on his friends, and to exclude the most distinguished of his competitors, as well as all his colleagues of the first Decemvirate: and this he also effected. Accordingly he was created Legislator by the Centuries of the People, with Q. Fabius Vibulanus, a person illustrious by three Consulships, irreproachable till then, and distinguished by his merit and zeal for the Aristocracy, as well as his birth, and the remembrance of the illustrious Fabii, of which house he was the sole surviving branch. The surprising change which will soon appear in this Decemvir, shews with * what facility the down-hill paths of Vice sometimes ensnare the wisest men. His other colleagues amongst the Patricians were M. Cornelius, M. Servilius, L. Minucius, T. Antonius, and Manius Rabuleius, all people of little merit, but highly attached to his interests. But what still more surprised the Senate, was that Appius, forgetting his own glory, and that of his ancestors, was not ashamed, in order to flatter the late Tribunes, to whom he had sold his faith, to propose three Plebeians for Decemvirs, under pretence that it was but just some of them should be in that office, to take care of the interests of the People. Accordingly he caused Q. Petilius, Cæso Duillius, and Sp. Oppius, to be admitted into it: which entirely gained him the multitude.

APPIUS CLAUDIUS.

Q. FABIVS VIBVLANVS.

M. CORNELIVS, &c. Decemviri.

The year following, on the ides of May, according to the custom of those days, the new Decemvirs entered upon office †; at which time ended the part Appius had played the year before. He now took off the mask, and shewed himself in his real character ‡.

* Facilis in proclivia vitiorum decursus est. SENEC. de ira, l. 2. c. 1.

† Ille finis Appio alienæ personæ ferendæ fuit. Suo inde vivere ingenio cœpit. LIV.

‡ Nemo potest personam diu ferre. Ficta citò in naturam suam recidunt. Quibus veritas subest, quæque, ut ita dicam, ex solido enascuntur, tempore ipso in majus meliusque procedunt. SENEC. de Clem. l. 1. c. 1.

A. R. 304.
Ant. C.
[448.

A. R. 304.
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True and solid virtues increase and acquire strength with time : but feigned and assumed characters never support themselves long, and soon return into their own nature.

The first thing the Decemvirs did, was to enter into a secret treaty under the most dreadful oaths, mutually to support each other, and the authority of the whole Decemvirate, in all the enterprizes which they should think fit, jointly or separately, to undertake ; not to divest themselves of the office they had received ; to admit no person besides themselves to have any share in the government ; to enjoy all of them the same honours, and equal power ; to have recourse very rarely and only upon extreme necessity to the Decrees of the Senate, and the Ordinances of the People ; and to determine in all things, as far as it should be possible, only by themselves.

The first day that they shewed themselves in their formalities, threw every body into terror and consternation. They appeared in the Forum each with twelve Lictors before him : whereas till then only one of the Decemvirs, and before them one of the Consuls, was attended by twelve Lictors ; neither did they appear in the city with axes, which were the marks of the power of life and death. A long file of officers, to the number of six score, were now seen walking before them, with their fasces armed with axes, which denounced beforehand the violences and cruel executions * all without distinction were to expect, that should presume, either in the Senate, or the Assemblies of the People, to drop one word tending to recal the remembrance of liberty. That is to say, that they had given themselves ten Kings, or rather Tyrants.

They sustained that character wonderfully in their whole conduct. They were almost inaccessible in their persons : they scarce vouchsafed to hear the complaints of such as applied to them : they answered with an insolence and haughtiness, that confounded all who had

* Si quis memorem libertatis vocem, aut in Senatu, aut in Populo, misisset.

any thing to transact with them. No kind of justice was to be had of them. They concerted in private amongst themselves the judgments they rendered in public. If any person believed himself injured by one of the Decemvirs, and appealed to another, he was sure to be treated in such a manner, as gave him cause to regret his not abiding by his former judgment. After having for some time left terror in a manner equally suspended between the citizens of all orders, they at length made the storm fall on the People, and the excess to which they carried their oppressions is incredible. The report began even to spread, that they had sworn amongst themselves to perpetuate their authority, and never to lay it down: which threw the People into despair.

A. R. 304.
Ant. C.
448.

† They then began to turn their eyes towards the Senate, seeing no hope of liberty but from those, by whom they formerly apprehended being reduced into slavery: frivolous fear, which had precipitated the Commonwealth into its present deplorable condition. The principal Senators abhorred and detested the Decemvirs, but did not love the Plebeians. They were far from approving what was done, but they could not help thinking and saying, that the People suffered no more than they deserved. Hence they were not in haste to aid those who through a blind passion for liberty had plunged themselves into slavery; and they were not sorry to see their chains grow every day more heavy, in hopes that the lively sense of their miseries might make them desire the re-establishment of Consuls, and the antient form of government.

The Decemvirs in the mean time carried their influence to the highest excess. They caused themselves to be attended no longer by the Plebeians, as they had done at first to gain the People: it was the young nobility who attached themselves to them, and held it as an honour to accompany them as their guard. It is

† Circumspectare tum Patritiorum vultus Plebeii, & inde libertatis captare auram, unde servitutem timendo, in eum statum remp. ad-duxerant. Liv.

A. R. 304.
Ant. C. 448. no wonder that they should find amongst the vile populace creatures disposed to flatter tyranny, and ready to sacrifice the public good to their private interests. But it is just matter of surprize, and most shocking, that many of the order of the Patricians, so proud of their nobility and riches, should abandon themselves to the Decemvirs, and join with them in oppressing the liberty of their country. They were not ashamed to become the Ministers of those Tyrants, who publicly lorded it with insupportable haughtiness over the Commonwealth; who paid no regard either to the Senate or People; and deprived the citizens of their fortunes, and disposed of their lives with impunity. For their licence rose to that pitch. Some were whipped with rods like slaves, others perished by the ax like criminals: and that cruelty might not be unrewarded, they added the confiscation of estates to the murder of those who possessed them *. Libertinism, and the desire of vile gains, were the allurements that had corrupted part of the young nobility, and continued them attached to the Tyrants.

The ides of May approached, when the magistracy of the Decemvirs was of right to expire. They had prepared two additional tables of laws; amongst which there was one, that prohibited the Patricians to ally themselves by marriage with the Plebeians; undoubtedly with design to prevent the ties of blood and affinity from reinstating peace and union between the two orders. There now remained no pretext for continuing themselves in the Decemvirate. The ides of May therefore were expected with incredible anxiety and impatience.

A. R. 305.
Ant. C. 447. That day at length arrived. Appius and his colleagues, in contempt of all the rules and customs of the Commonwealth, and even contrary to the laws they had lately passed, confirmed themselves in the Dictator-

* Hac mercede juvenus nobilis corrupta, non modò non ire obviam injuriæ, sed propalam licentiam suam malle, quam omnium libertatem. Liv.

ship by their own authority, without calling an assembly, or consulting either the Senate or People.

Every thing seemed utterly desperate. No defender of the public liberty appeared, nor any resource, either present or future, against so many evils. Rome was no longer to be known, was no longer Rome. It was become the seat of Tyranny, and the scene of the most horrible violences. There was no kind of bad treatment that the Decemvirs did not exercise against all without exception, that ventured to disapprove their conduct; banishing some under frivolous pretexts; putting others to death upon false accusations laid against them by their own hirelings, of which they made themselves the absolute judges; confiscating the estates of those they condemned to their own use, and to that of the young nobility, who served them as their guards; plundering in that manner the richest and best families, violating such of the wives and maids as were agreeable to their lust, and sparing those who opposed their brutality no more than slaves. They carried their madness to such an height, that they compelled most of the nobility to abandon Rome, and to fly for refuge to the neighbouring cities of the allies. Hence scarce any persons remained in the city, except such as were of intelligence with the Tyrants, or did not concern themselves in the least about the good of the Commonwealth.

The deplorable condition to which Rome was reduced, inspired an universal contempt for her in the neighbouring states, who thought it infamous to remain in subjection to a city, whose liberty subsisted no longer. They believed the occasion favourable for avenging their past defeats, and for making themselves amends for the losses they had sustained. With these hopes, they raised great armies, and prepared to attack Rome. The Sabines, on the one side, dispersed themselves over the frontiers of the State, and after having made a great booty, and shed abundance of blood in the country, encamped before Eretum, a small city upon the Tiber about six or seven leagues from

A. R. 305.
Ant. C.

447.
Dionys.
l. ii. p. 684
—725.
Liv. l. 3.
c. 38—42.

A. R. 304.
Ant. C.
447.

from Rome. The Æqui on the other side entered the country of Tusculum, ravaged a great part of it, and posted themselves near Algidum.

This news put the Decemvirs into a great consternation, who in their dread of two wars saw themselves under the necessity of assembling the Senate. They were not ignorant of the storm they had to experience, and the reproaches that would be made them for being the sole cause of the ravages of the country, and of all the misfortunes that threatened the Commonwealth. They foresaw that advantage would be taken of the occasion for attempting to divest them of their power, if they did not oppose such attacks with vigour, and make an example of all who should presume to enter the lists against them. It was, however, necessary for them to resolve to assemble the Senate. When the herald made proclamation to that effect in the Forum, the multitude were entirely astonished, because that custom had been discontinued from the second year of the Decemvirate. They said to each other, that they were obliged to the enemy for seeing any trace of their antient customs and liberty in the city. As no Senator appeared on the herald's summons, the people at first thought it a sign that they did not acknowledge the authority of the Decemvirs, and resolved to act in the same manner on their side, by taking no notice of the summons, when they should think fit to make the levies. The Decemvirs sent their officers round to the houses of the Senators; but upon being informed that they were almost all of them in the country, they deferred the assembly till the next day.

It was more numerous than had been expected, which exceedingly afflicted the People, who considered that conduct as abandoning liberty, and betraying the cause of the public. If the Senators acted with too much submission in assembling, they however spoke with abundance of resolution. After Appius had declared, that the Sabines and Æqui were in arms against the Roman People, that it was necessary to take the field against them, and that the approach of the enemy would

would admit of no delays ; L. Valerius Potitus, without giving him time to conclude, rose up to speak out of his turn. When Appius would have prevented him, by telling him that he should be heard in his turn : “ The question is not to answer you, replied “ Valerius. I have other things of greater importance, “ and more necessary, to propose to the Senate, concerning your intrigues, and the conspiracy which “ you have formed against the State. Remember, “ Appius, I am a Senator, and that my name is Valerius.” But rightly perceiving that no justice was to be expected either from him or most of his colleagues : “ It is to you only that I address myself,” continued he, speaking to Q. Fabius Vibulanus, “ you who have “ honoured us with three Consulships. If you have “ still the same zeal and the same just intentions which “ we have experienced heretofore, exert yourself now, “ and deliver us from the oppression under which we “ groan. The whole Senate fix their eyes upon you “ as on their only hope.” The disposition of Fabius was rather light and inconstant in good, than hardened and tenacious in ill. So unexpected an apostrophe confounded him. Characters of this kind, which are neither bad nor malignant in themselves, often suffer themselves to be drawn in to share in the greatest crimes by the force of bad example, for want of sufficient constancy in what is good. The colleagues of Fabius crowded about him to prevent him from replying, and a great tumult arose. But M. Horatius Barbatus rising up soon after, caused silence to be made. He was the grandson of that Horatius, who, after having signalized himself in the expulsion of the Kings, had been made Consul with Valerius Publicola. “ We are told, said he, of wars abroad, and enemies “ ready to attack us. Have we then either a more “ formidable war than that made on us in the heart of “ the state and city, or more declared enemies than “ these ten Tarquins, who under the mask of Legislators, have subverted all our laws, and usurped a “ tyrannical power, in which they pretend to perpe-

“ tuate

A. R. 305. "tuate themselves, even in defiance of the Common-
 Ant. C. "wealth. Have they forgot, that it was under the
 447. "Valerii and Horatii the Kings were expelled from
 "Rome? Do they believe the name of King to have
 "been the sole object of their pursuit? Do we not
 "give it to Jupiter? Do we not call Romulus our
 "founder by that title? Do we not use it every day
 "in our sacrifices and rites of religion? What we
 "armed against, what we abhorred, in Kings, was
 "their pride, their violence, and their abuse of an
 "authority, legitimate in itself, but which they made
 "to degenerate into tyranny. And what we could
 "not suffer either in a King, or his son, shall we now
 "bear in private persons without title, without power,
 "and void of all authority, though they still presume
 "to retain the marks of it."

This discourse put the Decemvirs into a fury. However, as Appius did not yet see in what manner the affair would terminate, he contented himself with venting some reproaches not very excessive, and with complaining, that they departed improperly from the matter in deliberation.

Claudius, his uncle, notwithstanding persisted in speaking upon the same subject, nobody through respect venturing to interrupt him: but he treated it in a mild and pathetic manner, employing rather entreaties than reproach. "He conjured him by the manes of his brother Appius, the Decemvir's father, to consider rather the strict and natural tie by which he was bound to the country that gave him birth, than the unjust compact he had entered into with his colleagues. That it was more for his own sake than that of the Commonwealth he made him that request. That the Commonwealth either by fair or foul means could reduce them to reason. That one could not tell, where disputes carried to extremity, like this, might end: but that the consequences it might have, made him tremble for Appius." He concluded with saying, "It was his opinion, that the Senate ought not to pass any decree." That was declaring openly enough,
 that

that he considered the Decemvirs as private persons, who had no right to assemble the Senate. Many were of the same opinion.

A. R. 305.
Ant. C.
447.

Cornelius Maluginensis, brother to one of the Decemvirs, supported their interest strongly, under pretence of the good of the public. He said, "That he was surprised to see so many wise and prudent persons depart from the point as they did on the present occasion. That what Valerius and Horatius pretended in respect to the expiration of the power of the Decemvirs at the ides of May, was not without foundation, and merited the mature examination of the Senate at their leisure: but as the enemy were almost at the gates of Rome, it was necessary, previously to all things, to levy the army, and order the Decemvirs to march immediately against them." This opinion occasioned a great tumult: but as it was supported by the young Senators, it passed by plurality of voices; which was all the Decemvirs wanted.

Armed with this decree, they made the levy without opposition, and set out directly, some against the Sabines, and others against the Æqui. Appius was left at Rome with Sp. Oppius: for the rudest attacks were expected there, and he was well qualified to sustain them.

The Roman armies were beaten on both sides, through the behaviour of the soldiers, who chose rather to suffer the shame of being defeated, than acquire the honour of victory for leaders whom they abhorred and detested. What passed was rather concerted flights than battles. The loss was greatest in the country of the Æqui. The enemy took the camp; and the Romans, deprived of every thing, happily found at Tusculum an open asylum, and immediate aid from faithful and generous allies.

When this news came to Rome, it occasioned great alarm, and gave some suspense to domestic divisions. Appius and his colleague took all the necessary precautions for the safety of the city, and sent new troops to the two armies, with orders to march against the enemy,

A. R. 305. enemy, to prevent them from having any thoughts of
 Ant. C. attacking Rome.

447.

Two enormous actions, of a very different nature, but equally criminal, made way for great events, and hastened the ruin of the Decemvirs. The one happened in the camp, and the other in the city.

Liv. 1. 3.
 c. 43.

L. Siccius, the famous Plebeian, who had distinguished himself so much by his valour, was at that time in the army which had been sent against the Sabines (1). The Decemvirs who commanded it were informed that Siccius often talked with his companions upon the present divisions, that he spoke very boldly against the Decemvirs, and said that the only remedy for the present misfortunes of the Commonwealth was to reinstate the Tribunes of the People. These discourses gave them offence, and the more, as that officer was in great credit. They resolved therefore to rid themselves of him; and for that purpose, having given him a commission to execute with a small detachment, they secretly ordered the soldiers of the party, who were devoted to their interest, to assassinate him in the first convenient place they should find. The order was executed. Siccius sold his life dear. As he was vigorous and robust, he killed several of those who attacked him, but was at length overpowered by numbers. That brave warrior, who had returned victorious from so many battles, perished at last by the hands of some traitors, whom the Decemvirs had armed against him. At their return, they gave out, that they had fallen into an ambuscade; and that Siccius, after having defended himself a great while, and killed many of the enemies, had been killed himself with

(1) He had been sent thither by Appius from Rome. Appius being informed that he talked highly against the Decemvirs, sent for him under pretence of consulting him concerning affairs of the army; and pretending to be highly pleased with his counsels, sent him in quality of Legatus, lieutenant-general, to assist the Decemvirs that commanded the army against the Sabines. Instructed by Appius, they received him with outward marks of joy, and upon his advising them for good reasons to remove their camp into the enemy's country, they took that opportunity to rid themselves of him, and sent him to mark it out with the detachment of ruffians, by whom he was killed.

some of his soldiers. This news gave the whole army great grief : for he was generally esteemed and beloved. A cohort was detached by the permission of the Decemvirs, to bury the dead : but when it arrived at the place, they were amazed to find them with their arms and habits on, and that they had not been stripped of their spoils. On examining on all sides, no traces were found either of men or horses, except in the defile through which the Romans had passed ; and what was still the greatest proof, there were none but Romans amongst the dead. They therefore concluded absolutely, and the thing was evident, that Siccius had not been killed by the enemy, but by his own troops.

When they had buried the rest, they took up the body of Siccius, and carried it to the camp. The grief and indignation of the army was inconceivable. After they had rendered him all the honours of war, justice was demanded against the murderers, and the troops were for having them tried and executed immediately, according to martial law. The Decemvirs had made them disappear, and under pretence that all persons should be at liberty to accuse them at Rome, they deferred passing judgment in the affair. This murder of Siccius exceedingly exasperated the soldiers, and prepared them already for a revolt.

Another murder still more deplorable, committed in the city, gave the last blow to the Decemvirate. L. Virginius, of a Plebeian family, had a daughter about fifteen years of age : she had been promised in marriage to Icilius, who had formerly been Tribune, and was at that time the greatest beauty in Rome. She had lost her mother, and was under the tuition of governesses, who took care of her education. Appius, who saw her by chance, was struck with her exquisite beauty, and thought of nothing from thenceforth but the means of gratifying his criminal desires. He employed all the methods to tempt her, that a violent passion could suggest ; but * still found in the invin-

* Postquam omnia pudore septa animadverterat, ad crudelem superbamque vim animum convertit. Liv.

A. R. 305. cible chastity of Virginia a resistance proof against
 Ant. C. all his attacks and endeavours. When he saw that
 447. her severe modesty left him no hopes of seducing her,
 he had recourse to violence. He suborned one of his
 clients, named M. Claudius, and perfectly instructed
 him how to act. This creature of his was bold and
 frontless, and one of those kind of people, who intro-
 duce themselves into the confidence of the Great only
 by a criminal complacency for their pleasures. The
 infamous minister of the Decemvir's debauches, meet-
 ing Virginia as she was going with her governess to
 the public schools in the Forum, stopped her, and
 claiming her as his slave, bade her follow him, or he
 would oblige her to do so by force. Virginia, in a-
 mazement and trembling with fear, did not know what
 he meant; and her governess raised a great cry, and
 implored the assistance of the People. The names of
 Virginius her father, and Icilius her intended husband,
 were heard on all sides. Relations and friends ran to
 join her, and the most indifferent were moved with
 the sight. This secured her against violence. Clau-
 dius, assuming a milder tone, said, there was no oc-
 casion for so much stir: that he had no design to em-
 ploy violence, but solely the usual methods of justice;
 and immediately cited Virginia before the magistrate,
 whither she followed him, by the advice of her rela-
 tions.

When they came to Appius's tribunal, the claimant
 repeated his well known tale to the judge, with whom
 it had been concerted. He said, that Virginia was
 born in his house of one of his slaves, from whence
 she had been stolen by her mother and carried to Vir-
 ginius's wife, who being barren, through grief to see
 herself without children, had pretended this girl to be
 her daughter, and had brought her up as such in her
 house. That he had incontestable proofs of the fact,
 against the evidence of which Virginius himself, who
 had so much interest in the affair, could have nothing
 to object. He concluded with demanding, as the
 absence of Virginius prevented the matter from being
 finally

finally adjudged, that it should be decreed provisionally, that the slave should follow her master.

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An express law, passed by the Decemvirs themselves, decided the case in favour of Virginia. * It declared, "That if a person enjoying their liberty should be claimed as a slave, such person should continue at liberty till a definitive judgment in the case." Numitorius, Virginia's uncle, alledged this equitable law in vain. In vain did he represent, that as Virginius was absent in the service of the Commonwealth, it was but just the judgment should be suspended, till he could appear to defend his daughter in person.

Appius, before he passed sentence, said, "That the law which had been cited was a proof of his zeal for the defence of liberty. That if the father were present, the maid might be put into his hands without difficulty; and therefore that it was necessary he should be sent for as soon as possible. In the mean time, he decreed, that she should be put into the hands of Claudius, who should give good security to produce her, when the father arrived."

This sentence of Appius was followed by the tears and cries of Virginia, and the women that accompanied her. All who were present at this trial trembled with horror and indignation, but no body ventured to explain themselves openly. Icilius, raising great cries, advanced through the croud to defend Virginia. The Lictor saying the judge had passed sentence, opposed and thrust him back roughly. † So injurious a treatment would have enraged the most moderate. Icilius, who was naturally warm and violent, did not suffer it

* Ut si quis à libertate in servitutem assereretur, Prætor vindicias secundum libertatem daret.

† Placidum quoque ingenium tam atrox injuria accendisset. "Ferro hinc tibi summovendus sum, Appi, inquit, ut tacitum feras, quod celari vis. Virginem ego hanc sum ducturus, nuptam pudicamque habiturus. Proinde omnes collegarum quoque Lictores convoca, expediri virgas & secures jube: non manebit extra domum patris sponsa Icili. Non, si tributum auxilium & provocationem Plebi Romanæ, duas arces libertatis tuendæ, ademistis, ideo in liberos quoque nostros conjugisque regnum vestræ libidini datum est. Sævite in tergum, & in cervices nostros: pudicitia saltem in tuto sit."

A. R. 305. patiently. " You must remove me from hence, Ap-
 Ant. C. pius, said he, with the sword, if you would stifle
 447. " the knowledge of your infamous design. I am to
 " marry this maid, but to marry her chaste and a
 " virgin. Therefore assemble, if you please, all your
 " own Licitors, and those of your colleagues, and bid
 " them make ready their rods and axes : but the wife
 " of Icilius shall not stay out of her father's house.
 " Though you and your colleagues have deprived the
 " People of their Tribunes and appeals, the two
 " supporters of their liberty, do not imagine that you
 " have an absolute power to treat our wives and
 " children according to the dictates of your lust.
 " Rage, tyrannize, if you will, over our persons ;
 " but let chastity and innocence at least be exempt
 " from your violence." Icilius added several other
 circumstances of equal force, and concluded with pro-
 testing, that * as long as he had life he should retain
 the courage and constancy, with which a just and chaste
 passion for the defence of his wife's liberty ought to
 inspire him.

The whole multitude were in great emotion, and
 ready to proceed to the utmost extremities. Appius,
 who perceived it, and did not expect so much resistance,
 was obliged to give way to it. He said, " He per-
 ceived, that Icilius, still full of the pride and violence
 of the Tribune, sought only to excite tumult : that for
 the present he would not supply him with occasion.
 That in respect of Virginius's absence, his quality of
 father, and also in favour of the common cause of
 liberty, he was satisfied to defer judgment till next day.
 But that if Virginius did not appear, he now gave
 warning to Icilius, and all such seditious persons, that
 he should proceed in the case ; and that his own Lic-
 itors, without his having recourse to those of his col-
 leagues, would suffice for chastising the insolence of
 the turbulent and refractory." After having continued
 sitting some time, that he might not seem to have come

* Me vindicantem sponsam in libertatem, vita citius deseret, quam fides.

thither solely on account of this affair, as nothing farther offered, he rose, and returned home, much mortified with what had passed.

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The first thing he did after he entered his house, was to write to his colleagues in the camp not to suffer Virginius to leave it, and even to keep him confined under a good guard. The courier was dispatched immediately: but was too late by some hours. The affair of Virginia no sooner made a noise, than Icilius's brother and Numitorius's son, two active young men; full of ardor and good-will, took horse, and riding hard had arrived in very good time at the camp. Virginius had got leave to be absent, and was set out when Appius's courier arrived. For his greater security, he took the by-road to Rome.

The news of Virginius's arrival considerably embarrassed the Decemvir, but did not extinguish his passion. The next day early in the morning Virginius repaired to the Forum with his daughter. It was impossible to behold her, without being sensibly moved. The sad and neglected air with which she appeared, her mournful and dejected looks, her eyes heavy and streaming with tears, and the rays of beauty which, however, broke through that cloud of sadness, made powerful impressions upon all hearts. Her father, weeping still more than her, held out his hands to the citizens, and implored their aid, representing to them in a pathetic manner his own misfortune, and the danger to which themselves were upon the point of being exposed in respect to their wives and daughters. Icilius said as much on his side.

In the mean time Appius arrived, and with an assured and menacing air ascended his tribunal. To prevent all resistance, he had caused the troops under his command to march down from the Capitol, and take possession of the Forum. The whole city were in expectation of hearing the sentence about to be passed. Claudius complained of not having had justice done him the evening before, and repeated in few words the proofs, upon which he founded his claim.

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The father of the maid, and the rest of her relations, refused with solid and unanswerable reasons the pretended imposture of Virginia's birth. The judge, who was no longer master of himself, without hearkening farther to her defenders, pronounced Virginia the property of Claudius. Upon hearing that sentence, all that were present lifted up their hands to heaven, and raised a great outcry, that expressed their grief and indignation. Appius, transported with rage and fury, said; that he well knew, there were many factious and seditious persons in the croud, who sought only to excite tumults: that they would do well to remain quiet, otherwise the troops which he had expressly caused to come thither well knew how to make them. He then ordered the Lictor to remove the People, and make way for Claudius to take his slave. The whole multitude were awed and withdrew, and the unhappy Virginia was upon the point of being the prey of her ravisher. Her father then, consulting only his despair, immediately formed within himself a dreadful resolution. He desired Appius to favour him so far as to suffer him to ask the nurse some questions in private before his daughter, in order to assure himself by her answers concerning the truth of the fact, and thereby console himself for the sentence that had just been passed. That favour was granted him without difficulty. The croud made way for him to pass. He took his daughter and her nurse aside, and insensibly led them towards a butcher's shop. There snatching up a knife, "By this only means in my power, my dear child, said he, I defend thy honour and liberty;" and plunged it into her heart. Then drawing out the bloody knife, he cried to Appius, "With this innocent blood, Appius, I devote thy head to the infernal Gods."

An horrid noise immediately ensued. Virginius, all covered with his daughter's blood, and holding the knife still smoking in his hand, ran like a madman on all sides of the Forum, animating the citizens to recover their liberty. He afterwards opened himself a way



H. Gravelot delin. et sculp.

The DEATH of VIRGINIA.

Published Nov. 16. 1739. by J. & P. Knapton.

way with the favour of the multitude to the gates of the city, where he mounted an horse that waited for him, and rode directly towards the camp. A troop of Plebeians to the number of four hundred followed him close.

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Ícilius, Virginia's intended husband, and Numitorius her uncle, continued with her body, deploring the guilt of Appius, the fatal beauty of Virginia, and the cruel necessity to which her father had been reduced. The * women cried out with tears: "Is this the reward of chastity? Is it to satiate the brutality of an infamous Decemvir, that we bring our children into the world?" adding a thousand other moving complaints, such as grief, which is more lively and tender in their sex, generally inspires them with on the like occasions. The men, and especially Ícilius, reserving their whole indignation for the injuries that affected their country, expressed themselves only against the tyranny and oppression of the People, who had been deprived of the two firmest supports of liberty, their Tribunes and Appeals. The multitude was in the highest ferment, as well through the enormity of the crime, as the hope of recovering their liberty.

Appius, apprized of these emotions, sent his Licitors to seize Ícilius, and carry him to prison. But the latter had already around him, not only a mutinous populace, but two illustrious chiefs, who came at that instant to put themselves at the head of the multitude: these were Valerius and Horatius. The Decemvir, seeing that he was not obeyed, came in person, attended by a troop of young Patricians, to animate the Licitors by his presence and that aid. The People fell upon them, broke their fasces, and made use of them against themselves. Appius, apprehending for his own life, withdrew, and summoned an assembly of

* *Sequentes clamitant matronæ, "Eamne liberorum procreandorum conditionem? ea pudicitiae præmia esse?" ceteraque, quæ in tali re muliebris dolor, quo est mæstior imbecillo animo, eo miserrabilia magis querentibus subiecit.* Liv.

A.R. 305. the People. That was a great imprudence. Horatius and Valerius followed him thither, and seizing the
 Ant. C. 447. other side of the Forum, they set the body of Virginia on an high place, from whence it might be seen by every body, and having drawn thither a great part of the People, they made the strongest invectives against Appius, and those that favoured the Decemvirate. This part of the citizens, whether out of respect for the illustrious persons who spoke to them, or compassion for her whose beauty had been attended with such dire misfortunes, or the hopes that were given them of re-inflating the Commonwealth in its former condition, became so much superior to the faction of the Decemvirs, that except a very small number that still adhered to them, all the rest abandoned them. Appius, terrified with that desertion, was obliged to leave the Forum, with his head covered in his robe, and escape to a neighbouring house. That precaution was necessary; and if he had not withdrawn in time, he was in danger of experiencing the People's revenge, and suffering the punishment he deserved. Valerius and his party observed no longer any measures, and by their warm declamations against the Decemvirate, fully determined such as till then remained irresolute.

But nothing augmented their hatred more against the Decemvirs, than the pompous manner in which Virginia's relations celebrated her funeral. Her body was laid on high in the Forum upon a magnificent bed, so that every body might see it, and carried in a kind of triumph through the whole city. The Roman matrons and virgins came out of their houses to meet it; some threw flowers and wreaths upon the bed, some their girdles and bracelets, and others the ornaments of their heads. Nothing that could adorn her obsequies was omitted.

Such was the situation of Rome, when Virginius arrived at the camp of Algidus. He soon excited a greater tumult there, than he had left in the city. For besides that the troop of almost four hundred citizens
 who

who accompanied him, made his arrival remarkable, the knife, which he held in his hand, and the blood with which he was covered, drew on him the eyes of the whole army. Whilst every body asked him what had happened, he continued silent for some time, and answered only with his tears. When he recovered himself a little, and silence had been made, he related from first to last all that had happened in the city. Then raising his hands towards heaven, and addressing himself to the soldiers, he implored them, " Not to impute a crime to him of which Appius was the sole author, nor to consider him as a parricide and the murderer of his daughter. He added, that the life of Virginia would have been dearer to him than his own, if, in preserving it, she could have preserved her liberty and honour : but that, seeing her upon the point of being dragged away as a slave, to satiate the Decemvir's lust, he believed it better to lose his child by death than infamy ; and that pity and tenderness for her had made him seem to become cruel. That he would not have survived his daughter, if he had not hoped, that his fellow-soldiers would assist him in avenging her death. That they also had daughters, sisters, and wives. That the lust of Appius had not expired with his daughter, but would become still more outrageous, the longer it was suffered with impunity. That his misfortune warned them to guard against the like injuries. That as for him, he had lost his wife ; that his daughter, as she could preserve her honour only by the loss of her life, had suffered an unhappy, but an honest death. That he had no longer any thing to fear for his family from the brutality of Appius : that as to the violence he might exercise upon his person, he well knew how to deliver himself from it with the same courage as he had his daughter. That it was for them to provide for the safety of their honour, lives, liberty, and those of their children."

These complaints of Virginius were followed with the acclamations of the whole multitude. The soldiers

A. R. 305. diers with one voice assured him, they would avenge
 Ant. C. his grief and their own liberty. At the same time a
 447. report from Rome spread, that the affairs of the Decemvirs were entirely ruined there; and that Appius himself, after having escaped the hands of the populace with difficulty, had fled, and was retired into banishment: and this rumour, mingled with truth and falsehood, finally determined the army to revolt. To arms was the universal cry: the standards were pulled up, and the troops took the route of Rome. The Decemvirs, terrified with what they saw, and the accounts of what had passed in the city, ran to all sides of the camp to appease the tumult. If they spoke mildly, no regard was had to them, and the troops gave no ear to what they said: if they assumed a tone of authority, the soldiers answered, that they had their arms in their hands, and knew how to use them.

Accordingly they marched directly to Rome, passed peaceably through the city, and posted themselves upon mount Aventine. In their way they exhorted the citizens to recover their liberty, and to create Tribunes of the People: but they used no violence, nor any menaces. The Decemvir Sp. Oppius assembled the Senate. Their unanimous opinion was, that in the present conjuncture gentle measures only were to be used, as the Decemvirs themselves had given occasion for these commotions. Sp. Tarpeius, C. Julius, and P. Sulpicius, three persons of Consular dignity, were deputed to the soldiers, to demand in the name of the Senate, by whose orders they had abandoned the camp, and what they intended, by seizing the Aventine in arms. They were not at a loss for the answer they had to make: but, as they had not yet nominated a chief, nobody ventured to take it upon himself, nor to incur the resentment and risque with which it might be attended. The whole assembly cried out confusedly, that they might send Valerius and Horatius to them, and that they would give them their answer.

When

When the deputies were withdrawn, Virginius represented to the soldiers, "That they had just before been at a loss in a matter of no great difficulty, only from their being a multitude without a chief, a body without a head. That they had given a wise answer; but one that was rather the effect of chance than of a resolution concerted in common amongst them. That it was his opinion, they would do well to elect ten persons to command in chief, who might be called *Military Tribunes*, a name suitable enough to an office created by the soldiers." As they nominated him first: "Reserve," said he, "these marks of esteem and affection for me till a more convenient occasion. No dignity can be agreeable to me whilst my daughter is unrevenge'd; and at a time of trouble like that wherein the commonwealth is at present, it is not prudent, in my opinion, to confer offices upon persons most exposed to the hatred of adversaries. If you judge me capable of doing you any service, I shall do it no less in continuing a private person." Ten military Tribunes were accordingly created, and M. Oppius was placed at the head of them.

The other army, which was in the field against the Sabines, was not long before it followed this example. The murder of Siccius had exceedingly incensed them, as we have said before, and as soon as they heard that their fellow-soldiers had thrown off their obedience to the Decemvirs, they did the same with joy. They also chose ten Tribunes upon their march, of whom Sextus Manlius was the chief; and having joined the other army, they encamped together, and charged the twenty Tribunes with the care of the government. M. Oppius and S. Manlius, the most considerable persons amongst those Tribunes, were appointed to preside in that council.

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Livy calls
him Ma-
nilius.

The Senate was in great perplexity, and assembled every day, but without coming to any resolution: the whole time passed in mutual reproaches, and nothing was concluded. The general opinion was, that Valerius and Horatius should go to mount Aventine, to
nego-

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negotiate with the two armies. But they refused to go, unless the Decemvirs would divest themselves of the marks of dignity, as their authority had expired the year before. The Decemvirs on their side, complaining that they were for reducing them to the condition of private persons, and degrading them of their office, protested that they would not quit it, that they had not put the last hand to the laws for which they were created, and that they had not caused them to be accepted.

The army, upon being informed by Duilius, who had been Tribune, that after many debates the Senate were come to no fixed resolution, removed from mount Aventine to the Sacred Mountain, as to a place where their ancestors had laid the first foundations of the liberty of the People. Duilius had made them sensible, "That the Senators would not act with any warmth, or give themselves much pain about what passed, till they saw them abandon the city. That the Sacred Mountain would put the Senate in mind of the constancy of the Plebeians, and make them sensible, that without re-instituting the Power of the Tribunes, there was no hope of union." For the rest, having established their camp upon the Sacred Mountain, they imitated the wisdom and moderation of their forefathers, in not committing any violence. The multitude joined the army; none, whose age would permit, dispensing with themselves from following it. Their wives and children accompanied them part of the way, asking them mournfully, to whose care they left them in a city, where neither the honour of women, nor the liberty of the public, were safe.

Rome being in this manner changed into a frightful solitude, and nobody appearing in the Forum except some few old men, the Senate began to be in real anxiety. "What do you wait for, Fathers," said several besides Horatius and Valerius? "If the Decemvirs persist in their obstinacy, will you suffer every thing to be utterly ruined and lost? And as
" for

“ for you, Decemvirs, what is this same authority of A. R. 305.
 “ which you are so tenacious? Are you for giving Ant. C.
 “ your laws to, and ruling over, roofs and walls? 447.
 “ Are you not ashamed to see the number of your Lic-
 “ tors almost exceed that of the citizens, which remain
 “ in the city? What will you do if the enemy come to
 “ attack it? And suppose the People, seeing us so
 “ unconcerned about their removal, should advance
 “ hither sword in hand, what would become of you?
 “ Is it your design to put an end to your authority
 “ only with the entire ruin of the city? Do not you
 “ perceive, that it is absolutely necessary either to re-
 “ nounce the People for good and all, or to grant
 “ them Tribunes? We shall sooner acquiesce in not
 “ having Patrician, than they in wanting Plebeian
 “ magistrates *. They extorted that office from our
 “ fathers, new and unexperienced to them at that
 “ time: and can any body believe, that after having
 “ tasted the sweets of it for so many years, they will
 “ consent to be deprived of it for ever; especially
 “ when we have made such an use of authority, as
 “ makes protection and aid at least as necessary to them
 “ as ever?”

As the Decemvirs heard discourses of this kind from all sides, they were overcome by so unanimous a concurrence, and declared at last, that, as it was judged necessary, they should refer themselves entirely to the resolutions of the Senate. They only requested, that they might be secured against the hatred and animosity of the public; representing at the same time, that it was not for their interest to accustom the People, by the punishment of the Decemvirs, to shed the blood of the Senators.

When a decree was passed to this effect, Valerius Liv. 1. 3. and Horatius were deputed with full powers to con- c. 54.clude a treaty of pacification with the People. It was also recommended to them to take proper precautions

* Novam inexpertamque eam potestatem eripere patribus nostris, ne nunc dulcedine semel capti ferant desiderium. Cum præsertim nec nos temperemus imperiis, quo minus illi auxilii egeant. Liv. 1. 3. c. 52.

A. R. 305. for preserving the Decemvirs from the rage and violence of the People. They were received into the camp with universal joy, as the Deliverers of the People, and public thanks were given them for all the services they had done them in this affair, as well at its beginning, as now when it was upon the point of being terminated. Icilius spoke for the multitude. When they proceeded to treat of the accommodation, and the deputies desired him to propose the demands he had to make, his answer, which had been concerted before their arrival, shewed, that the People founded their pretensions solely in equity, and not upon the arms which they had in their hands. They demanded the re-establishment of Tribunes and appeals, which had been the two firm supports of the liberty of the People before the creation of the Decemvirs; and that it should not be deemed a crime in any one whatsoever, to have induced the soldiers or People to retire to mount Aventine, in order to re-instate themselves in the possession of their liberty. Only the article concerning the Decemvirs had something excessive in it. The People demanded, that they should be delivered up to them, and threatened to burn them alive.

“Your first demands,” replied the deputies, “are so just, that we came prepared to grant them of our own accord, because they tend only to secure your liberty, without prejudice to others. But as to the last, it would be injurious to yourselves to comply with it: it suffices to pardon you such excessive sentiments of anger, but we cannot approve them. You are cruel yourselves, from the abhorrence of cruelty, and are for lording it over your adversaries, before you have made sure of your own freedom. Shall our city never see an end of this enmity, and declared war between the Senators and People? You have more occasion for the shield than the sword: You ought now to think only of well establishing your liberty.” The whole assembly having referred their pretensions and interests entirely to the deputies, they promised to return soon, and

and bring with them the ratification of their demands.

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When they gave an account to the Senate of the good success of their negotiation, the rest of the Decemvirs, contrary to their hopes, finding no mention made of punishing them, came into every thing. But Appius, the most cruel and odious of them all, judging the People's hatred of him from his own for the People, said, " I am not ignorant of what is preparing for me. I well perceive, that attacking us is deferred, till our adversaries are armed for that purpose. The hatred of my enemies can be satiated only with my blood. However, I also consent to divest myself of the Decemvirate." A decree was immediately passed to the following effect: " That the Decemvirs should abdicate their office immediately; that the Great Pontiff Q. Furius should create Tribunes of the People; and that no person whatsoever should be liable to prosecution upon account of the removal of the soldiers and People to mount Aventine." Upon the breaking up of the Senate, the Decemvirs repaired to the assembly of the People, and abdicated their office; which occasioned universal joy.

That news was immediately carried to the camp. All the citizens that had continued in Rome followed the deputies. The other part of the People came at the same instant to meet them. They congratulated each other upon the recovery of peace and liberty. The deputies, having called the assembly, expressed themselves to this effect: " Romans, for the welfare and happiness of the commonwealth in general, and of each of you in particular, return to your country, your household-golds, wives and children; but return with the same wisdom and moderation you have shewn hitherto, in effect of which, so great a multitude, in so universal a necessity, have not committed the least injury to a single field. Go to mount Aventine, from whence you came. There, in that place of happy augury, where you laid the first foundations of your liberty, create Tribunes of

" the

A. R. 305. " the People. The Great Pontiff will be there to
 Ant. C. " preside in your assembly." Those words were re-
 447. ceived with great joy and prodigious acclamations.

Without loss of time, they decamped and marched for Rome, congratulating all they met, and receiving their congratulations. They passed through the city with profound silence, and halted upon mount Aventine. The Great Pontiff immediately held the assembly there, and Tribunes were created. Virginius first of all, then L. Icilius, and P. Numitorius, Virginia's uncle, which three had the greatest share in the secession: after them were chosen C. Sicinius, son or grandson of the Sicinius who was created the first Tribune upon the Sacred Mountain, and M. Duilius, who had distinguished himself in the office of Tribune of the People, before the creation of Decemvirs, and had always strongly opposed them afterwards. Five others less known, but in whom they could entirely confide, were added: M. Titinnius, M. Pomponius, C. Apronius, P. Villius, and C. Oppius.

As soon as they entered upon office, on the motion of Icilius, the People decreed, that no person whatsoever should be molested on account of separating from the Decemvirs. Duilius at the same time passed a decree for the election of Consuls, from whom it should be lawful to appeal to the People. Consuls were immediately elected, who were Valerius and Horatius.

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L. VALERIUS POTITUS.
 M. HORATIUS BARBATUS.

Dionys.

l. 11. p. 725

—727.
 Liv. l. 3.

c. 55.

Those two magistrates were very popular by disposition, and had inherited abundance of humanity and equity in the government of the commonwealth from their ancestors. To acquit themselves of the promise they had made the People, when they prevailed on them to lay down their arms, of taking a particular care of their interests, they passed several Laws highly in their favour. By the first it was ordained, that whatever the People should decree in the assembly of the

the Tribes (Comitia Tributa) should extend to all the citizens, as well as what was instituted in the assembly by Centuries (Comitia Centuriata *.) This was giving an infinite force to the Tribunitian laws: for the Tribunes of the People presided in the assemblies by Tribes. To put the privilege of Appeal out of the reach of infraction, they prohibited the creating of any magistrate, from whom it should not be lawful to appeal; and by the same law, permission was granted to kill any person whatsoever, that should undertake to create such a magistrate, without being liable to a prosecution for murder on that account. They renewed and strengthened the law, that declared the persons of the Tribunes sacred and inviolable, and which prohibited the offering any kind of ill treatment to them upon pain of death. They also ordained, that for the future the decrees of the Senate should be deposited in the temple of Ceres, and kept by the Ediles of the People; whereas before it was in the power of the Consuls to suppress or alter those decrees. The Patricians did not dare to oppose any of these laws; but they received them not without regret. † For whatever precautions were taken for strengthening the liberty of the People, seemed to them a diminution of their power.

The authority of the Tribunes, and the liberty of the People, being thus established and confirmed, the Tribunes thought it time to attack the Decemvirs. They resolved therefore to cite them before the People, not all together, lest they should mutually support each other, but one after another, convinced that it would be more easy to deal with them in their separate capacity. They began with Appius, who had made himself the most odious to the People by his oppressions, and his treatment of Virginia. The father of that unfortunate maid was his accuser. The

* Qua lege Tribunitiis rogationibus telum acerrimum datum est. Liv.

† Quicquid enim libertati Plebis caveretur, id suis decedere opibus credebant. Liv.

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day for his trial being come, and Appius having repaired to the Forum, surrounded with a troop of young Patricians, that sight renewed in the minds of every body the remembrance of those sad days, when the same Patricians, like so many guards, made up his train. Virginius then spoke to the following effect :
 “ Long discourses are only necessary in matters susceptible of doubt and uncertainty. I shall therefore lose no time in accusing a citizen, from whose cruelty you have delivered yourselves by arms ; nor will I suffer him to add to his other crimes the impudence of defending himself before you against the enormities I could charge him with. I pass over, Appius, all the impious and flagrant actions, which you have committed for two years past. I confine myself solely to one point ; and I ask you, whether it be not true, that you granted Claudius the provisional possession of Virginia, at a time when she enjoyed her liberty. You must give me a precise answer, and consent to be tried upon this fact : otherwise I shall commit you to prison.”

The fact, upon which Appius was interrogated, was so evident, and the injustice so black, that he could not accept the condition proposed by the Tribune, without consenting to his own condemnation ; and he saw no means of extricating himself out of that difficulty. However, though he could neither expect the aid of the other Tribunes, nor the voices of the People in his favour, he implored the interposition of the former. When none of them offered to move, and the officer was preparing to seize him : “ I appeal to the People,” said he. That word, the sole support of the liberty of the People, from a mouth, which not long before had pronounced sentence directly opposite to that liberty, was followed with silence. Every one said to himself, “ They at length saw that there were Gods, who made human affairs their care. That the punishment of cruelty and pride was indeed slow, but terrible. That he who had abolished appeals, was now reduced to have recourse to them.

That

That the declared enemy, the subverter, of the Rights of the People, now implored their protection; and that the unjust judge, who had given up a free person to slavery, was now abandoned himself to chains and prisons, without any support from the privilege of his liberty."

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Appius notwithstanding, compelled to assume a character, which could not but cost his pride abundant mortification, appeared before the People as a suppliant, and spoke the language of one. He repeated "the great services, which his ancestors had done the commonwealth both in war and peace. He deplored the unhappy success of his zeal for the interests of the People, which had made him renounce the Consulship, and drawn the displeasure of the whole Senate upon him, for having consented, and devoted himself, to the scheme of the new laws, for the establishment of equal right between all the citizens. He invoked the laws he had lately instituted, in the view, and in contempt of which, the legislator was now to be laid in chains, and thrown into prison. That as for the rest, he should endeavour to render an account of his conduct, when an audience should be granted him for pleading his cause. That for the present, he only asked permission to defend himself as a citizen, and that he might not be condemned unheard. That if that justice were refused him, he again implored the intercession of the Tribunes, and appealed to the People. That the conduct they should now observe in regard to him, would demonstrate, whether the power of the Tribunes and appeals to the People were only empty names without force and reality, or whether oppressed citizens found a solid support in them against the injustice of magistrates."

Virginus, on his side, affirmed, "That Appius Claudius, of all mankind, ought to find no protection from the laws. Cast but your eyes, said he, to yon tribunal, where this perpetual Decemvir, the declared enemy of the lives, fortunes, and liberty of the citizens, passing from rapine and murders to the most

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shameful debauches, delivered up to the infamous minister of his vices, in the presence of the Roman people, a maid of free condition and ingenuous birth; tearing her from the arms of her father like a slave taken in war, and by a cruel sentence arming the hands of that unhappy father against the life of his child. That the prison, which he had the insolence to call the mansion-house of the Plebeians, was no less intended for him than others." He concluded with saying, "That as often as Appius should repeat his appeal, so often should he renew the protestation he had made, of causing him to be committed to prison if he did not consent to be tried upon the single fact he had at first proposed to him." He was accordingly carried thither. So bold an action was censured by no body; it however made a very strong impression upon the minds of the People, who almost believed that they carried the use of their liberty too far, in treating so considerable a citizen as Appius with so much rigour. The Tribune adjourned the day for his trial to a farther time.

How difficult it is, in a cause, wherein the judges are parties, and are animated by the spirit of revenge, to keep within the bounds of strict justice, and not to give way in some measure to passion. Appius was criminal: but it was necessary to try him in due form. In punishing his tyranny, they treated him tyrannically.

C. Claudius, Appius's uncle, who, not being able to suffer the crimes of the Decemvirs, and his nephew's enormous abuse of his authority, had withdrawn to Regillæ, his antient country, quitted his retirement, and returned to Rome, to assist with all his credit, in so urgent a danger, a nephew, whose crimes it was well known he had utterly detested. That venerable old man was seen in the Forum in a mourning habit, attended by his whole family, and a great number of Clients. "He implored the People not to inflict upon the family of the Claudii the indignity of causing them to be considered by posterity as

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citizens that merited chains and prisons. He added, that it was a most shameful thing, to see a person laden with irons in a dungeon amongst villains and thieves, who undoubtedly ought to be an honour to his descendants from the high offices he had filled, and who might be regarded as the Legislator of Rome, and as the author of the Rights of the public, and of the wise institutions which had lately been established in the city. He conjured the Romans to suffer their just wrath to give way to their natural humanity and compassion, and, at the humble supplication of the whole family of the Claudii, to grant their grace to a single criminal, rather than reject the request of so many persons for the guilt of one. That as for himself, he was far from being reconciled to his nephew; and that what he now did was solely in regard to the honour of his family. That, as they had recovered their liberty by their valour, they might now strengthen the union between the two orders by their clemency."

Many were moved with this discourse, less in regard to Appius, than out of consideration for his uncle. But Virginius "implored the citizens rather to have compassion on him and his daughter; and added, that the prayers of a family, which had exercised a cruel tyranny over the People, did not deserve to be put in competition with those of three Tribunes, all of them allied to Virginia by the most sacred ties, and reduced to beg the aid of the same people, whom they were obliged, by their office, to assist on all occasions." These tears appeared the justest: and Appius in consequence, having lost all hope, suborned death before the farther day for his trial arrived.

His colleague Oppius, who was in the city when that infamous judgment was passed, had the same fate, and died also in prison before the day for his trial. The estates of both were confiscated for the benefit of the public. The rest of their colleagues were banished; and their fortunes also confiscated. As for M. Claudius, who had lent himself to the Decemvir's crime, he was condemned to die; but at Vir-

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ginius's request, that sentence was changed into banishment. * Thus, says Livy, the manes of Virginia, more happy after her death than in her life, after having wandered through so many houses in pursuit of just vengeance, were at length appeased by the punishment of all the guilty.

All these executions gave the Senators no small disquiet, and alarmed them exceedingly. The Tribunes had rendered themselves almost as terrible as the Decemvirs had been before, and gave reason to apprehend for the future. Duilius, one of them, delivered the Senate from that fear, and entirely restored their tranquillity. Rightly perceiving, that it was consistent with prudence to set bounds to a power which became excessive: "We have now," said he in the full assembly, "carried both the defence of our liberty, and the punishment of our enemies, far enough. For which reason, I will not suffer any person whatsoever to be cited to a trial, or committed to prison during the rest of this year. As to the past, it is not proper to revive the remembrance of old faults, which ought to be forgotten, after new ones have been expiated by the punishment of the Decemvirs: and for the future, the constant and unanimous zeal of the two Consuls for the defence of your liberty, is a sufficient security for you, that nothing will happen to require the aid and intervention of the Tribunes."

This declaration of the Tribune, so full of wisdom and moderation, gave the Senate some ease: but at the same time, it occasioned complaints against the Consuls. They were angry with them for declaring so openly and so entirely for the People, that a Plebeian magistrate should think it necessary to take upon him the care of the safety and liberty of the Senate preferably to a Patrician magistrate; and that their enemies should be tired with the use of their power in avenging themselves, before the Consuls took

* *Manesque Virginie mortuæ quam vivæ felicioris, per tot domos ad petendas pœnas vagati, nullo relicto fonte tandem quieverunt.*

any measures for opposing their licence. Many blamed their own negligence and facility in consenting to the laws passed by those Consuls in favour of the People: and it was obvious, that the imputations against the Decemvirs, which fell in part upon the Senators, had obliged them to comply with the times. However that were, peace and unity were re-established between the Senate and People.

The Latines and Hernici sent ambassadors to congratulate them upon the occasion; and to instance their gratitude to Jupiter, offered a crown of gold in the Capitol, of a moderate weight, in proportion to the narrow extent of their power. In those times, people regarded piety more than magnificence in acts of religion: *colebantur religiones piè magis quam magnificè*. The same ambassadors brought advice, that the Æqui and Volsci were making great preparations for war. The Consuls were ordered to march against those enemies. The province of the Sabines fell to the lot of Horatius, and the Æqui and Volsci to Valerius. The levies were made with great facility; and even many soldiers, who had served the legal time, entered themselves as volunteers for these wars.

Before the troops marched out of the city, the new laws, known under the name of the Twelve Tables, engraved upon plates of brass, were proposed and exhibited to the public. I deferred repeating the magnificent praises of them, which we find in Cicero, for this place, to avoid interrupting the thread of our history by the digression. Only some fragments of the XII tables are come down to us. Some of them contained the laws concerning Sacred Things, others the Rights of the public; but the greatest part of them related to private Right. We shall see in the sequel, that Horace had reason for calling them the tables that prohibited sin: *Tabulas peccare vetantes*. We may judge of the exceeding value people set upon this work, from the magnificent praises given it by Cicero, in the first book of the Orator, wherein he is not afraid to prefer it, upon account of the profound wisdom

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dom with which it abounds, to all that the philosophers had wrote upon the same subject. The passage seemed to me too important not to be repeated almost at length in this place. * “ Would you know, says Cicero by the mouth of Crassus, the principles of civil society, you will find them comprized in the XII Tables, wherein is exactly laid down all that relates to the polity of states, and can contribute to public utility. Or are you fond of philosophy; that glorious science, which looks down on all things in comparison with itself, I venture to say, has no other principles, in all the questions it treats, than what are to be found in our civil Rights and Laws. For, properly speaking, it is the knowledge of civil right, which teaches us that honesty and virtue are to be preferred to all things, by shewing us, on the one side, true and solid merit, honoured with rewards, dignities, and glory; and on the other, guilt and injustice, punished with penalties, ignominy, prisons, stripes, banishment, and death. And it does not give us all these lessons in loose and dry disputations, thick-sown with subtleties: but it instructs us in a tone of authority to subdue our passions, to set bounds to all our appetites, to content ourselves with our own, and to withhold our hands, eyes, and desires, from the possessions of others. Though all the world should declare against me, I will speak my sentiments: The little volume of the XII Tables, in my opinion, exceeds the libraries of all the philosophers, both in the weight of its authority,

* Sive quis civilem scientiam contempletur, — totam hanc descriptionis omnibus civitatis utilitatibus ac partibus XII Tabulis contineri videbitis. Sive quem ista præpotens & gloriosa philosophia delectat (dicam audaciùs) hosce habet fontes omnium disputationum suarum, qui jure civili & legibus continentur. Ex his enim & dignitatem maximè expetendam videmus, cum verus, justus, atque honestus labor, honoribus, præmiis, atque splendore decoratur; vitia autem hominum atque fraudes damnis, ignominiiis, vinculis, verberibus, exiliis, morte multantur: & docemur non infinitis concertationumque plenis disputationibus, sed auctoritate nutuque legum, domitas habere libidines, coercere omnes cupiditates, nostra tueri, ab alienis mentes, oculos, manus, abstinere. Fremant omnes licet, dicam quod sentio; bibliothecas mehercule omnium philosophorum mihi videtur XII Tabularum libellus, si quis legum fontes & capita viderit, & auctoritatis pondere & utilitatis ubertate superare. Lib. 1. de Orat. n. 193—195.

and

and the abundant utility to be extracted from it." A. R. 306. Ant. C. 446.
 This judgment of Cicero, so highly in favour of the laws of the XII Tables, is not to be wondered at, if we reflect, that they were the abridgment, extract, and in a manner the flower of whatever was most excellent in the laws of Greece.

It was in this body of laws, that the security of the citizens in particular, and of the state in general, consisted at Rome. * To condemn them, says Cicero, is not only to set aside the force and obligation of judgments, but to subvert the interests and ties of civil society. For without them, it would be impossible to ascertain any man's right, or what is his own, and what another's; and there could be no common and uniform rule between all for the observance and security of all. † These laws, says the same Cicero again elsewhere, are the support of the dignity and prerogatives we enjoy in the commonwealth, the foundation of liberty, and the source of equity and justice. They are the life, the soul, that animate, guide the councils, form the decisions, and regulate the judgments, of the state. As our bodies can neither subsist, nor make any use of their nerves, blood, and members, without souls; so a city can neither support itself, nor make any use of its members, the citizens, without laws. In free states, the law is the principle, to which every thing is reduced, and on which every thing depends. The magistrates are its ministers; the judges its interpreters; and the whole people its vassals, in order to their being free and independent, by having no other master but the Law, or Right.

* Qui jus civile contemnendum putat, is vincula resolvit non modo judiciorum, sed etiam utilitatis, vitæque communia.—Etenim hoc sublato, nihil est quare exploratum cuiquam possit esse, quid suum, aut alienum sit: nihil est quod æquabile inter omnes atque unum omnibus esse possit. *Cic. pro CÆCIN. n. 70.*

† Hoc vinculum est hujus dignitatis quâ fruimur in republica, hoc fundamentum libertatis, hic fons æquitatis. Mens, & animus, & consilium, & sententia civitatis, posita est in legibus. Ut corpora nostra sine mente, sic civitas sine lege, suis partibus, ut nervis ac sanguine & membris, uti non potest. Legum magistri, magistratus: legum interpretes, judices: legum denique idcirco omnes servi sumus, ut liberi esse possimus. *Cic. pro CLUENT. n. 146.*

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It must be owned, that these ideas are great, noble, and magnificent: and they only appear so, because they are founded in nature itself, or in truth. Cicero * considered human laws, instituted for the government of states and the administration of justice, as emanations of that Supreme Law, which enjoins good and prohibits evil; that, in his sense, is no other than God himself, whose will, all-wise and omniscient, is the primitive rule of all our duties. Accordingly he observes, that the magistrate (by which word he understands all who govern) ought to employ his authority solely in prescribing such things as are good, virtuous, useful, and conformable to the laws. For in the same manner as the People are subservient to the magistrates, magistrates are subservient to the laws; and it may be truly said, that the magistrate is a speaking law, and the law a mute magistrate.

* *Lex nihil aliud est nisi recta, & à numine deorum tracta ratio, imperans honesta, prohibens contraria. Cic. Orat. 2. in Anton. n. 28.*

Lex vera atque princeps, apta ad jubendum & vetandum, ratio est summi Jovis. De leg. 2. n. 10.

Illa divina mens summa lex est. Ib. n. 11.

Hominum vita jussis supremæ legis obtemperat. De leg. 1. n. 3.

Vidētis magistratūs hanc esse vim, ut præsit, præscribatque recta, utilia, & conjuncta cum legibus. Ut enim magistratibus leges, ita populo præfunt magistratus: verèque dici potest, magistratum legem esse loquentem, legem autem magistratum mutum. De leg. 3. n. 2.

ALPHABETICAL VOCABULARY OF ITALY

PROPERLY SO CALLED;

Wherein the ancient Names of Countries, People, Cities, Rivers, that occur in Mr. ROLLIN's Roman History, are rendered in their vulgar and modern Names.

By Mr. D'ANVILLE, Geographer in Ordinary to
LEWIS XV.

A.

ACHERON River, Bato:
Acheruntia, Cerenza.

ÆQUI, part of the country of
the Sabines, and of the Cam-
pagna di Roma.

Æfarus River, Ifauro.

Æfemia, Ifernia.

Æfis, Jessi.

Æfis River, Fium-Æfino.

Alba Fucentis, Albi.

Alba-longa, Palazzolo.

Allifæ, Alifi.

Ameria, Amelia.

Amiternum, Amiterno roui-
nato.

Anagnia, Anagni.

Ancona, Ancona.

Anio River, Teverone.

Antium, Torre di Capo d' An-
tio.

APULIA, PUGLIA, or LA
POUILLE.

Ardea, Ardea.

Ariminum, Rimini.

Arnus River, Arno.

Arpi, Arpi.

Arpinum, Arpino.

Arretium, Arrezzo.

Asculum-Apulum, Ascoli.

Asculum-Picenum, Ascoli.

Aternus River, Aterno.

Aufidena, Alfidenà.

Aufidus River, Ofanto.

Auximum, Ofimo.

B.

Barium, Bari.

Beneventum, Benevento.

Bononia, Bologna.

Bovianum, Boiano.

Brundisium, Brindisi.

BRUTTIUM, Calabria.

C.

Cære vel Agylla, Cer-veteri.

Calatia, Cajazzo.

Cales, Calvi.

Cajeta, Gaeta.

Came-

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Camerinum, Camerino.
 CAMPANIA, Terra di Lavoro.

Cannæ, Canna distrutta.
 Canusium, Canosa.
 Capena, Civitella di S. Paolo.
 Capreæ Inf. Isola de Capri.
 Capua, S. Maria de Capoa,
 two miles from New Capua.

Carfeoli, Cella di Carfoli, or
 Civita Carentia.

Casilinum, New Capua.

Caudium, Furchia.

Centum-cellæ, Civita-Vecchia.

Ciminius Ms. & Saltus, Montagna di Viterbo.

Cingulum, Cingolo.

Circæum Prom. Monte Circello.

Clanis River, Chiano.

Cliternia, Civita-a-Mare.

Clusina Palus, Chiana.

Clusium, Chiufi.

Cocintum Prom. Capo di Stilo.

Compsa, Conza.

Conientia, Cosenza.

Corfinium, Valva.

Crathis River, Crate.

Crimisa Prom. Capo dell' Allice.

Crotona (Brutii) Cotrona.

Crotona (Etruriæ) Cortona.

Cumæ, Cuma.

Cures, Correse.

D.

DAUNIA, Capitanata.

E.

Egnatia, Torre di Adanazzo.

ETRURIA vel TUSCIA;
 TUSCANY, including part

of the Ecclesiastic State to
 the west of the Tiber.

F.

Fæsulæ, Fiesole.

Falerii, Sta. Maria di Falari.

Firmum, Fermo.

Florentium, Fiorenzo, or Florence.

Formiæ, Mola.

Forum Appii, Bargo-longo,

Fregellæ, (no trace of it.)

Frentani, part of Abruzzo-
 citerior, of the county of
 Molisa and Capitanata.

Fucinus Lac. Lago di Celano.

Fundi, Fondi.

G.

Galesus River, Faro.

Garganus Mons & Prom.
 Monte Sant Angelo.

H.

Hadria, Atri.

Helia, vel Velia, Castello-a-
 Mare della Brucca.

Heraclea, (I do not know its
 modern name.)

Herculis Labronis Portus, Li-
 vorno or Leghorn.

Herculis Prom. Capo di Spar-
 to-vento.

Herdonea, Ardonia.

Hernici, part of the Campag-
 na di Roma.

Hipponium, postea Vibo, Bi-
 vona.

HIRPINI, part of Terra di
 Lavoro.

Hydruntum, Otranto.

I.

Iapygium Prom. & Salenti-
 num, Capo di Sta. Maria.

Iapygum

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Iapygium tria Prom. (the principal is called Capo Rizzuto.)

Ilva Inf. The isle of Elbe.

Inter-amna Nartes, Terni.

L.

Lacinium Prom. Capo della Colonne.

Larinum, Larino.

LATINES, part of the Campagna di Roma.

Lavinium, Pratica.

Laurentum, Torre di Paterno, Laus Riv. & cit. Laino.

Leuco-petra Prom. Capo dell' Armi.

LIGURES. (Their territory extended on the south of the Appennines to the river Arno, before the bounds of Etruria were carried as far as the river Magra.)

Liris, prius Clanis, Riv. Garigliano.

Locri Epy-zephyrii, Motta di Burfano.

Luca, Lucca.

LUCANIA, Basilicata and part of Terra di Lavoro.

Luceria, Lucera delli Pagani.

M.

Macra Riv. Magra.

Magelli, Val di Mugello.

Marrubium (there are some traces of it to the east of the Lake di Celano.)

MARRUCINI, part of Abruzzo Citerior.

MARSI, part of Abruzzo Ulterior.

MESSAPIA vel IAPYGIA, Terra d' Otranto.

Metapontum, Torre di Mare.

Metaurus Riv. (Brutii) Marro.

Metaurus Riv. Metro.

Mevania, Bevagna.

Minturnæ, Garigliano.

Misenum Prom. Capo Miseno.

N.

Nar Riv. Nera.

Narnia, prius Nequinum, Narni.

Neæthus Riv. Neeto.

Neapolis, prius Parthenope, Napoli or Naples.

Nola, Nola.

Nuceria (duplex) Nocera.

Nursia, Norcia.

O.

Ocriculum, Cruiris under Otricoli.

Ostia (ruins below New Ostia.)

P.

Pæstum vel Posidonia, Pesti.

Polinurum Prom. Capo di Palimoro.

Pandosia (at Volvicara or thereabouts, upon the river Bato, and not near Cosenza.)

PELIGNI, part of Abruzzo Ulterior.

Perusio, Perugia or Perousa.

Petilia, Strongoli.

PEUCETIA, Terra di Bari.

Picentia, Bicenza.

Picentini, part of Terra di Lavoro.

Picenum, Marquisates of Ancona and Fermo.

Pinna - Vestina, Civita di Penna.

Pisæ, Pisa.

Pisaurum,

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Pisaurum, Petauro.
 Pithecusa Inf. Ischia.
 Poptinæ Paludes, Paludi Pontines.
 Pontia Inf. Ponza.
 Populonium, Populonia distrutta.
 Portus Herculis, Porto-Hercule.
 Portus Veneris, Porto-Venere.
 Potentia (Lucaniæ) Potenza.
 Potentia (Piceni) at the mouth of Fiume-Potenza.
 Præneste, Palestrine.
 Prænestina Arx, Monte S. Pietro.
 Puteoli, Pozzuolo or Pouzoli.
 Pyxus vel Buxentum, Policastro, at the mouth of Fiume-Bucento.

R.

Ravenna, Ravenna.
 Reate, Riete.
 Rhegium, Rhegio.
 Rhenus River, Reno.
 ROMA.
 Rubico River, Rubicone, or Tiumicino.

S.

SABINI, Sabinia, and part of the dutchy of Spoleto.
 Salapia, Salpe.
 SALENTINI, part of the Terra d' Otranto.
 Salernum, Salerno.
 Salvia, Salvi rouinata.
 Samnium, county of Molise, and part of Terra di Lavoro.
 Scylacium, Squillace.
 Scylla, Sciglio.
 Sena-Gallica, Senigaglia.
 Sena (Julia) Siena or Sienna.

SENONES, Dutchy of Urbino.
 Sentinum, Sentina rouinata.
 Sibaris River, Sibari.
 Sibaris, postea Thurii, Sibari rouinata.
 Sinuessâ, Sinoessa (in ruins.)
 Sipontum, Siponto rouinato. (Manfred only has taken its place.)
 Siris River, Siro.
 Sora, Sora.
 Soracte, Ms. Monte di S. Oreste.
 Spoletium, Spoleto.
 Sueffa - Pometia, Cisterna-Pontina.
 Sulmo, Sulmona.
 Surrentum, Sorrento.

T.

Tanager River, Negro.
 Tarentum, Taranto or Trent.
 Tarquinii, La Turchina.
 Teanum Apulum, Civitare near Dragonera.
 Teanum Sidicinum, Fiano.
 Teate, Tieti or Chiete.
 Terracina, prius Anxur, Terracina.
 Tiberis River, olim Albula, The Tiber or Tevere.
 Tibur, Tivoli.
 Tifernas River, Tiferna.
 Tifernum, Citta di Castello.
 Talentinum, Tolentino.
 Trasimenus Lac. Lago di Perugia.
 Truentus River, Tronto.
 Tusculum, Frascati.

V.

Vada Valaterrana, Torre di Vada.
 Vadimonis Lac. Lago di Bassano.

Varia,

ALPHABETICAL VOCABULARY.

Varia, Vico-Varo.	Urbinum (duplex) Hor-
Veii (ruins of it remain.)	tenſe, Urbino.
Velitræ, Velletri.	Metaurenſe, Caſtel - Du-
Venafrum, Venafro.	rante.
Venuſia, Venofa.	Vulfinii, Bolsena.
Veſtini, part of Abruzzo Ul-	Vulfinienſis Lac. Lago di
terior.	Bolsena.
Vetulonii, Vetulia diſtrutta.	Vultur Ms. (branch of the
Umbria, Ombria and Dutchy	Appennines.)
of Urbino.	Vulturnus River, Volturno.
Umbro River, Ombrone.	
Volaterræ, Volterra.	Z.
VOLSCI, part of the Cam-	Zephyrium Prom. Capo Bur-
pagna di Roma.	zano.

END of the FIRST VOLUME.





